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ABSTRACT

This study is a description of the Kurdish of the city of Sulaimaniya, Iraq. Kurdish dialects cover an area embracing parts of eastern Turkey, Soviet Armenia, northern Syria, western Iran, and Khorasan in Iran. The language is described in terms of (1) phonology, (2) morphology, (3) morphophonemics, (4) word formation, and (5) syntax. An appendix, a bibliography, and a glossary are included. (RL)

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A KURDISH GRAMMAR

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE KURDISH OF SULAIMANIYA, IRAQ

by

Ernest N. McCarus

Spoken Language Services, Inc.

American Council of Learned Societies
New York
1958

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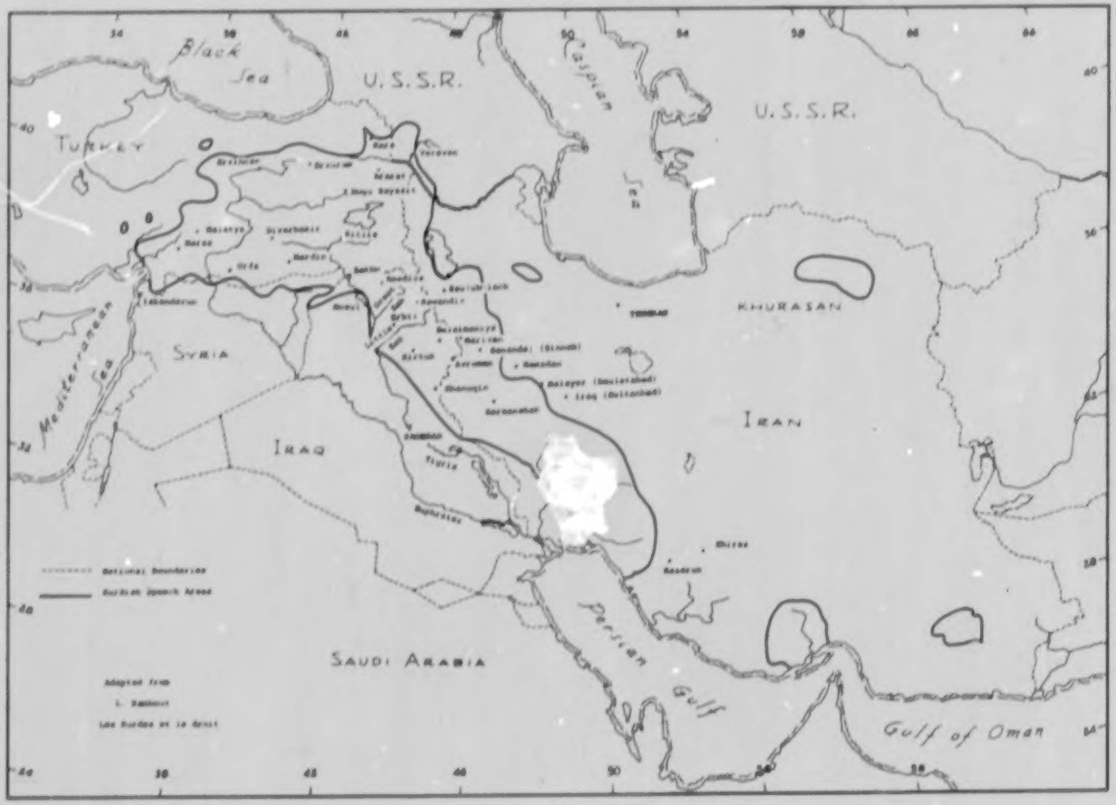
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SAUDI ARABIA
National Boundaries
Kurdish Speech Areas
Adapted from
L. Rambout
Les Kurdes et le droit

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.0 The Kurdish Language

This study is a description of the Kurdish of the city of Sulaimaniya, Iraq. Kurdish is a member of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family of languages. Kurdish dialects cover an area embracing parts of eastern Turkey, Soviet Armenia, northern Syria, northern Iraq, and western Iran, as well as Khorasan in Iran. (See Figure 1.) It is difficult to obtain reliable figures on the total Kurdish population in the Near East, estimates ranging from 1.5[1] to 9 million.[2]

Further study remains to be done on the classification of Kurdish dialects. The most systematic study is Karl Hadank's Untersuchungen zum Westkurdischen: Bōtī und Ēzādī[3], in which a limited number of phonological, morphological, and lexical isoglosses are used to set up two major areas, West Kurdish and East Kurdish, with the boundary coinciding roughly with a line drawn from Lake Urmia to the junction of the Greater Zab with the Tigris. According to this classification, the Sulaimaniya and Mukri dialects are East Kurdish, and the Zaza, Hakari, and Bahdinan dialects are West Kurdish. The Kurdish of Sulaimaniya is mutually intelligible with Mukri Kurdish, as well as with dialects as far north as Ruwandiz in Iraq and Sujbulak in Iran and as far south as Sinna and Kermanshah in Iran.

Of all the Kurdish dialects in Iraq, that of Sulaimaniya seems to enjoy the greatest cultural prestige, as is acknowledged by speakers of other dialects. It is the Sulaimaniya dialect that the central government in Baghdad has chosen to be used in Kurdish textbooks for elementary schools throughout Iraqi Kurdistan, and for all Kurdish language broadcasts from Radio Baghdad. It is in this dialect too that the United States Information Service in Baghdad published (as of 1951) its weekly Kurdish language news bulletin.

1.1 The Data

The corpus of data for this description was gathered on the occasion of a University of Michigan expedition to Iraq and Iran in the spring and summer of 1951. In Baghdad I obtained, through the offices of Professor George Cameron, the director of the expedition, the services of Mr. Abdul Qadir Qazaz, then an official in the Department of Post and Telegraph.

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[1] Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago, 1942) 13.520.

[2] Lucien Rambout, Les Kurdes et le droit (Paris, 1947) 18.

[3] Karl Hadank, Untersuchungen zum Westkurdischen: Bōtī und Ēzādī, Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Lautforschung an der Universität Berlin 6.1-6 (1938).

He was a native of Sulaimaniya and had completed secondary school there. His English and his Arabic, as well as his Kurdish, were excellent, and he proved ideal as an interpreter and informant. He had translated works into Kurdish from English and Arabic, and was considered by other literate Kurds as having an excellent command of the language. He was then approximately forty years of age. The expedition eventually established its field headquarters in the village of Ruwandiz, where I worked with Mr. Qazaz and some members of the local population. After about a month, Mr. Qazaz was obliged, because of personal reasons, to return to Baghdad, just as I had arranged to go to Sulaimaniya itself to continue field work there. I worked two months more in Sulaimaniya, where I was the sole foreigner in town. This town, the capital of the Liwa of Sulaimaniya, has a predominantly sedentary Kurdish population, with a few Assyrian and Armenian families, totaling about twenty thousand people.[1]

In Sulaimaniya I received the wholehearted cooperation of the Director of Education and the excellent assistance of Mr. Fuad Rasheed and Mr. Majeed Saeed of the local school system. Both were natives of Sulaimaniya, and their command of English and Arabic, as well as of Kurdish, was impeccable. Mr. Rasheed was a senior teacher, a lecturer in arithmetic and English, and a director in the primary school system. He had translated works into Kurdish from other languages and at that time was compiling a Kurdish-English dictionary. Then about forty years of age, he had resided all his life in Sulaimaniya. Mr. Saeed was a teacher of English in the primary schools. He had been graduated from normal school in Baghdad; he was approximately thirty years of age and had lived all his life in his native town.

In addition to these excellent informants I was able to record the speech of many other townspeople as well—tradesmen, students, etc. In Ann Arbor I was able to fill in the data with the help of students who had come there from Sulaimaniya. Of these, Mr. Hassan R. Mahmoud, a native of Sulaimaniya and a graduate of the Engineering College in Baghdad, was particularly helpful. He was then approximately thirty years of age, and was studying advanced engineering at the University of Michigan. His English was good and his Arabic excellent, and he proved very cooperative and of valuable assistance. Finally, Mr. Mahdi M. Abdulla, also a native of Sulaimaniya but in recent years a resident of Baghdad, was most helpful to me in completing the analysis. A graduate of Commercial and Economic College in Baghdad and an accountant in the Ministry of Health, Mr. Abdulla, then about thirty-five years old, had come to Ann Arbor under the auspices of the Point Four Program to study vital statistics. He had made regular weekly radio broadcasts in Kurdish for Radio Baghdad.

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[1] Chambers's Encyclopaedia (New York, 1950) 13.271.

The primary materials constituting the basis for the analysis described in the following chapters consist of texts recorded in phonetic notation from the sources mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. These filled three notebooks, totaling approximately three hundred and eighty pages. Supplementary materials (not utilized for the purposes of this study) include tape recordings made in the field and certain written materials. The tape recordings contain about two hours of stories and conversations in the Ruwandiz and Sulaimaniya dialects of Kurdish and about three hours of songs. The written materials include a copy of Mr. Rasheed's dictionary mentioned earlier, containing over three thousand items; a year's issues of the newspaper Žin published in Sulaimaniya; some elementary school readers; and a number of history books in Kurdish.

1.2 Previous Works on Kurdish

Kurdish studies are numerous and date back at least to Garzoni's Grammatica e vocabolario della lingua kurda of 1787. In the following discussion, however, only the major grammars and grammatical sketches of interest to this description will be annotated; for a complete list of all the titles I have been able to compile, the reader is referred to the Bibliography. The studies discussed here have not been used in arriving at the description of Kurdish presented in this work, but they have been used as a check on the analysis, and differences in fact or analysis have been noted throughout where appropriate. The following list is arranged in chronological order. Complete bibliographical data will be found in the Bibliography.

1. P. Maurizio Garzoni, Grammatica e vocabolario della lingua kurda, 1787. This work consists of a 79-page grammatical sketch and 200-odd pages of vocabulary of the Kurdish of Amadiya, Iraq. The book is the result of a stay of many years as a missionary in northern Iraq. The Kurdish is spelled in terms of Italian orthography.

2. A. Chodzko, Etudes philologiques sur la langue kurde, 1857 (60 pages). This grammatical sketch was made in Paris with a native of Sulaimaniya as informant, the author having previously been in Kurdistan. Citations are in Persian script, with a French transcription. The transcription is not always consistent, and the analysis is not very penetrating.

3. Peter Lerch, Forschungen über die Kurden und die iranischen Nordchaldäer, 1857-58. Part I contains 103 pages of Kurmanji and Zaza texts, obtained from Kurdish prisoners of war in Smolensk, with German translation. Part II consists of an 80-page introduction in which the author interprets the transcription systems used in previous works on Kurdish, and a 30-page Kurdish-German glossary.

4. Ferdinand Justi, Kurdische Grammatik, 1880. This author's stated purpose is to convert all previous works on Kurdish into a basis for further investigation. Accordingly, he takes all previous works and compares the information they offer on phonology and morphology. Although he compares (i.e., juxtaposes) the various forms, he does not use the comparative method to set up any kind of Proto-Kurdish. For example, in the phonology section he lists 15 vowels, 3 diphthongs, and 29 consonants for Kurdish. These are patently not separate phonemes, but rather reflect the various notational systems of the several works consulted.

5. Samuel A. Rhea, Brief Grammar and Vocabulary of the Kurdish Language of the Hakari District, 1880. This sketch is based on more than eight years of contact with the Kurds of the mountain village of Memikan in southeastern Turkey. The Kurdish of Sulaimaniya and Sinna is reported to be quite different from that of Hakari. The author lists the vowels and consonants of Hakari Kurdish, with corresponding English words to indicate the equivalent pronunciation, and then gives a short description of the various parts of speech and a 20-page Kurdish-English vocabulary.

6. Albert Socin, Die Sprache der Kurden, 1898. This article includes a general section on the distribution of the Kurdish dialects and a discussion of the literature on Kurdish, with a bibliography. The other sections are devoted to phonology, the noun, the verb, and texts. Like Justi, Socin brings together comparable forms from the various dialects, but makes no attempt at historical reconstruction.

7. J. de Morgan, Etudes linguistiques: Dialectes kurdes, 1904. These studies are based on two years of field work in Persia, as well as on certain other published works. Eleven different dialects, including Sulaimaniya and Mukri, are compared (i.e., juxtaposed) with each other, as well as with Persian, Sanskrit, etc. The vowels and consonants of these dialects and inflections of the parts of speech are treated, and extensive lists of words with etymologies, arranged by subject, are included.

8. Oskar Mann, Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden, 1906. This volume of the Kurdisch-persische Forschungen series contains an excellent 74-page grammatical sketch of Mukri Kurdish, followed by 302 pages of text in Latin script and 58 pages in Persian script. The text is without transcription or notes. The sketch, based on research done in Sujbulak, Iran, in 1903, shows Mukri Kurdish to be remarkably similar to Sulaimaniya Kurdish.

9. E. B. Soane, Elementary Kurmanji Grammar, 1913. This abridgement of Major Soane's Kurdish Grammar deals specifically with the Sulaimaniya dialect and was intended primarily for the use of officers and others whose duties led them to southern Kurdistan. Though an unsophisticated work, it is valuable for its vocabulary lists and can be useful to one who already knows Kurdish.

10. L. O. Fossum, A Practical Kurdish Grammar, 1919. The author's design is "to discover the best Kurdish in the dialects of Central Kurdistan, particularly in the Somai-Soujbulak-Suleimania Groups, and to put it into as clear and simple a system as possible" (9). The description is well arranged, but suffers from the fact that it is oriented from the point of view of the Persian-Arabic script. On the one hand, the author is forced to devote considerable space to explaining the intricacies of the writing system, and, on the other, he misses such phonemic contrasts as are not indicated by the script, e.g., the /r ɍ/ contrast.

11. Abbé Paul Beidar, Grammaire kurde, 1926. This grammar of the Zakho-Gesirah western dialect (northern Iraq) also contains a contextual orientation to Kurdish culture. Each chapter is liberally interspersed with proverbs and comments and has a short Kurdish text, with more comments, at the end. There is a 14-page Kurdish-French vocabulary.

12. Sa'id Şidqi, Mukhtaşar şarf u nahu i kurdi (Sketch of Kurdish Grammar), 1928. This sketch of the Sulaimaniya dialect is intended to provide a system of writing Kurdish by using a modified form of the Persian-Arabic script. Arabic loans, however, are written in their original Arabic spelling. The principal emphasis is on describing the various parts of speech, using Arabic grammar as the model.

13. Tawfiq Wahby, Destur i zman i kurdi (Grammar of the Kurdish Language), 1929. This is an excellent description of Sulaimaniya Kurdish by a native speaker of that dialect. The grammar is prescriptive in nature, attempting to "purify" the language of its non-Kurdish elements. The author uses a modified Arabic script, with a special character or combination of characters for each phoneme, including the vowels. This is the only Arabic script adapted for Kurdish that I have seen which does this. The bulk of the work is devoted to the eight parts of speech (corresponding to the eight parts of speech of Latin grammar), with the inflections and formation of each part of speech. There are some notes on morphophonemic processes, but nothing, unfortunately, on prosodic features.

14. Tawfiq Wahby, Xõndewariy' baw (Reader's Style), 1933. This little work is intended for those Kurdish teachers who wish to improve their Kurdish and for non-Kurds wishing to learn the language. It presents a Latin alphabet for Kurdish, with explanations in an Arabic script. This Arabic script is not Wahby's own (cf. item 13, above), but the conventional—and inferior—one used in Iraq. The booklet has four parts: (1) presentation of the Latin symbols; (2) pronunciation and reading drills; (3) a series of grammatical and spelling rules; and (4) reading selections.

1.3 Correlation of Orthographic Systems

Kurdish in Iraq is generally written in a modified form of the Persian-Arabic script. This use of a form of Arabic script for Kurdish dates back at least to the eleventh century A.D., when Ali Hariri (1009–1079) wrote a collection of poems in his Hakari dialect. In the following century the Shaykh Ahmad Mala'i Jizri wrote his famous Diwan in honor of the sister of Emir Umād al-Dīn, then prince of the Jazira. The text of these verses was published in an excellent lithographed volume by Martin Hartmann in 1904.[1]

A correlation of the native orthographies of Iraqi Kurdistan with that arrived at in the present work follows. Three native systems are included: first, that of Sa'id Şidqi (cf. item 12 under 1.2 above), a modified Arabic script and the system in general use in Iraq today; second, the Arabic script of Tawfiq Wahby (cf. item 13 above); and, third, Wahby's Latin script (cf. item 14 above). The second and third items are not mutually convertible, Wahby's Arabic script being the more accurate. Table 1 compares the vowel symbols in the four systems and Table 2 compares the consonants.

---

[1] Der kurdische Diwan des Schēch Ahmed von Ǧezīret ibn 'Omar genannt Māla'i Gizri (Berlin, 1904). For a description of the earliest known Kurdish texts, see Alexandre Jaba, Recueil de notices et récits kourdes (St. Petersburg, 1860) 8-11.

Table 1

Kurdish Orthographies: Vowels

This Work	Şidqi	Wahby-1929	Wahby-1933
i	ى	ىى (i.e., ى + ى)	iy;Cy[a]
ɨ	. . . .	ى	i;Cy[a]
e	ى[b]	ێ	ĕ
ə	ە	ە	e
a	ا	ا	a
ị	. . . .	ي	i
u	و	وو	uw
ʉ	و	و	u
o	و[b]	و̄	o

Also[c]

we	. . . .	وي	ŏ
ü	. . . .	ۈ	. . . .

[a] C stands for any consonant; this use of y as equivlent to /i/ or /ɨ/ obtains only in final position in the word.

[b] Special characters— ێ for /e/ and ۆ for /o/—are listed by Şidqi in his listing of the letters of the alphabet, but these special diacritics are never used in the body of the work, nor in Kurdish publications in general.

[c] Wahby lists these characters in his lists of vowels, but they are in reality either a sequence of phonemes /we/ or a vowel [ü] found not in Sulaimaniya but in a different dialect in Kurdish.

Table 2

Kurdish Orthographies: Consonants

This Work	Ṣidqi[a]	Wahby-1929	Wahby-1933
p	پ	پ	p
b	ب	ب	b
t	ت	ت [b]	t
d	د	د [b]	d
k	ک	ک	k
g	گ	گ	g
q	ق	ق	q
ʔ	ء	ء	. . . .[c]
c	چ	چ	ch[d]
j	ج	ج	c
f	ف	ف	f
v	ڤ	ڤ	v
s	س	س	s
z	ز	ز	z
ṣ	ص	—	. . . .[c]
š	ش	ش	sh[d]
ž	ژ	ژ	j
x	خ	خ	x
[illegible]	غ	غ	gh[c]
ħ	ح	ح	h[d]
ε	ع	ع	. . . .[c]
h	ه	ه	h[cd]
m	م	م	m
n	ن	ن	n
ŋ	ڭ	ڭ	ng

Table 2 — Continued

This Work	Şidqi	Wahby-1929	Wahby-1933
l	ل	ل	l
ł	ل[e]	ڵ	lh[d]
r	ر	ر	r
ř	. . . .	ڕ	rh[d]
w	و	و	w
y	ی	ی	y

[a] In addition to the consonant symbols listed in this chart, Şidqi includes five more in his alphabet. These occur in Arabic loans, and are as follows:

ث (Arabic voiceless interdental fricative [θ]) becomes Kurdish /s/
ذ (Arabic voiced interdental fricative [ð]) becomes Kurdish /z/
ض (Arabic voiced velarized dental stop [ḍ]) becomes Kurdish /z/
ظ (Arabic voiced velarized fricative [ẓ]) becomes Kurdish /z/
ط (Arabic voiceless velarized dental stop [ṭ]) becomes Kurdish /t/.

[b] In his Arabic script Wahby puts a dot under the dental stops, thus ت̣ د̣ in those words where they may be omitted according to style of speech; see 2.323.

[c] The phonemes /ʔ and ʕ/ are not represented in Wahby-1933, and the symbol h is made to represent both /h/ and /ħ/.

[d] Possible confusion in Wahby-1933 between the digraphs ch, sh, gh, lh, and rh and c, s, g, l, and r followed immediately by h is avoided by the use of the hyphen in the latter case: e.g., /mec-hul/ ‘passive voice’.

[e] Şidqi uses a special diacritic to indicate velar /ł/, thus: ڵ; however, this is not used in the body of the text.

Şidqi, in writing Arabic loans, retains the original Arabic spelling. Since Arabic has the five consonants listed in footnote a, Table 2, he uses the symbols for these consonants even though they are not phonemes of Kurdish. Thus, in his system for writing Kurdish, there are four spellings for the phoneme /z/. When it comes to vowels, however, Arabic lacks certain vowel phonemes of Kurdish, so that certain vowels of Kurdish are not represented in Şidqi's alphabet.

The Latin script for Kurdish has never gained currency in Iraq.[1] The newspaper Žin (/žín/), which is published in Sulaimaniya, and the magazine Hetaw (/hətáw/), published in Arbil, as well as official and private publications, are all in the modified Arabic script.

1.4 Style of Kurdish Described

The Kurdish represented in this description is that of a male speaker using a normally informal colloquial style. When no indication of style is given, it is to be assumed that this style is meant; when special reference is necessary the symbol (N) preceding the citation will be used. The symbol (D) preceding a citation indicates a more deliberate, conscious, or formal style of spoken Kurdish, while (R) indicates a very informal style with more collapsing of forms.

Female speech seems to differ from male speech in this dialect primarily in the potential substitution of /r/ for /ɫ/. Thus male or female /sméɫ/ 'moustache' is female /smér/.

Normal informal style is characterized by certain of the unconditioned, i.e., optional, morphophonemic processes described in 2.3, such as excrescence and loss of consonant. Rapid style shows a greater degree of collapsing of forms, while deliberate style generally shows a zero functioning of these processes, the morphemes mostly occurring in their original uncombined shapes. For example, /bót/ 'for you' & /lé/ 'from' & /ˀədə́m/ 'I give' (/le ˀədə́m/ = 'I hit', 'I play (music)') combine to form the following styles of utterance translated 'Shall I play it (phonograph record, musical instrument) for you?'

Deliberate	Normal	Rapid
bot le ˀədə́m?	bot le ˀədə́m?	bot lém?
	or	
	bot le ˀaịə́m?	

Those optional morphophonemic processes which, when they occur, serve to identify normal style (and also rapid style) are: syncope of /ị/ (see (1) (b) under 2.312), excrescence (2.322), and loss of consonant (2.323). Assimilation of /d/ (2.321) is characteristic of rapid style. These processes do not obtain in deliberate style.

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[1] For comments on the development of Romanized Kurdish scripts in Iraq, see the articles listed under Edmonds and Minorsky in the Bibliography.

A further difference between normal and deliberate style is on the subphonemic level. Palatalization (see (3) under 2.12) regularly occurs in style N, but does not obtain in style D. Thus, /ké/ 'who' is pronounced [k^{y}e˜:] in N but [ke˜:] in D.

Finally, D style is generally identifiable not only by the lack of the allophonic and morphophonemic processes mentioned above, but by certain differences in the lexicon as well. Kurdish contains a considerable number of Arabic loans which are the normal, everyday items heard in most situations. Many of these loans are so deeply rooted in the language that illiterate Kurds often cannot distinguish between words of Arabic origin and words of Kurdish origin. The literate Kurd, however, when conscious of his speech, may tend to choose words of Kurdish rather than Arabic origin, even if the former are not commonly used. Thus, Kurdish (D) /tká ʔəkə́m/ 'I beg (you), please' would be preferred to the synonymous (N) /ɍjá ʔəkə́m/ which uses /ɍjá/ of Arabic origin.

Use of the deliberate style may (1) present the effect of formal speech, as on a radio broadcast, or (2) provide emphasis, usually in combination with stress placement (see 2.22).

Within any of these styles of speech there may also occur an honorific style: special forms showing respect for the other person. These may take the form of plural forms for singular referents, as the plural verb in /tó cí ʔəxweniṇ/ 'What are you (singular, polite) studying?'; or as the plural suffix /yan/ in the sentence /məlá báŋ ʔəkatə maɫ-i-xóyan/ 'He invites the mullah to his (polite) house.' Respect may be shown also by special lexical items, as /jnáb/ 'you' (singular, polite) for the usual /tó/ 'you' (singular); or /ogírbe/ 'Where are you (singular, polite) going?' In this description, honorific forms will be indicated by (polite) after the corresponding item in the English gloss.

Table 3

Vowel Phonemes

		Front	Central	Back	
		Unrounded	Unrounded	Unrounded	Rounded
High	Close	i		ị	u
	Open	ɨ			ʉ
Mid	Close	e			
	Open		ə		o
Low			a		

Table 4

Consonant Phonemes[a]

		Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngal	Glottal
Stops	vl	p		t			k	q		?
	vd	b		d			g			
Affricates	vl					c				
	vd					j				
Fricatives	vl		f	s		š	x		ħ	h
	vd		(v)	z		ž	ǥ		ε	
Fric.: Velarized	vl				(ṣ)					
Nasals	vd	m		n			ŋ			
Laterals[b]	vd			l	ł					
Flap[b]	vd				r					
Trill[b]	vd				ɍ					
Semicons.	vd	w				y				

[a] ( ) indicates consonants of limited distribution (2.122).

[b] Flaps and trills are classed as *vibrants*, and vibrants and laterals are classed as *liquids*.

CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY

2.0. Introductory

This chapter presents linear phonemes (vowels and consonants and their principal allophonic types, and distribution of phonemes in the word[1]) and syllable structure in 2.1; non-linear phonemes (including stress and intonation) in 2.2; and morphophonemics in 2.3. Such an extensive treatment precludes a detailed and exhaustive presentation of each of these features, and some sections, such as the one on intonation, attempt merely to suggest the general nature of the material.

2.1. Linear Phonemes

The linear phonemes include nine vowels: /i ɨ e ə a ị u ʉ o/ and thirty-one consonants: /p b t d k g q ʔ c j f v s z ṣ š ž x ǥ ħ ɛ h m n ŋ l ł r ɍ w y/. The consonants /v ṣ/ are of phonemic status but their occurrence in the lexicon is quite limited. They are accordingly called consonants of limited distribution (2.122). See Table 3, Vowel Phonemes, and Table 4, Consonant Phonemes.

The word has as many syllables as it has vowels (see 2.13). Stress is phonemic and is indicated by the acute accent (´) over the stressed vowel (see 2.21).

2.11. Vowels[2]

All vowels are voiced. Vowel length is not phonemic: close vowels /i e u/ and the vowel /a/ are longer in quantity than the other vowels, except in word final unstressed position, where they are short. Thus:

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[1] A word is defined as any free morpheme (see (1) in 3.0); it is indicated in this description by spaces before and after it.

[2] The best grammar of Sulaimaniya Kurdish I have seen is the excellent Destur i zman i kurdi of Tawfiq Wahby (see 1.2, item 13): his is the only script, whether Latin or Arabic, that has, with a few minor exceptions, a one-to-one correspondence of symbol with linear phoneme. He has a single character for each of the seven vowels /ɨ e ə a ị ʉ o/ and digraphs for the vowels /i u/ (see Table 1). In addition, he has a digraph for the phoneme sequence /we/. In his Latin script Wahby uses the symbol õ for this sequence, probably influenced by the fact that in German orthography õ is equivalent to oe. Finally, in his list of vowels he has a digraph for a high front rounded vowel [ü], but notes that this vowel occurs not in Sulaimaniya Kurdish but in other parts of Kurdistan. In listing the alphabet Wahby merely names the phonemes without describing their phonetic value.

The other excellent description of Kurdish of special interest here is Oskar Mann's Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden (see 1.2, item 8). Although the dialect he describes is Mukri Kurdish (found in Iran), it is close enough to Sulaimaniya Kurdish to merit comparison.

Mann's transcription is in Latin orthography, and is provided with some description of allophones. He lists six long vowels â ê î ô û ü̂ and seven short ones a ă a̤ e i o u. The first five long vowels correspond to my /a e i o u/ respectively. His ü̂ corresponds to the allophone [ẅ] of my phoneme /w/ (see 2.121). Mann's a̤ is a cover symbol for his a and ă, which together with his e correspond to my vowel phoneme /ə/. Mann says that i fluctuates in its vocalic timbre, at times even approaching Slavic y; this is my /ɨ/. Mann's o is quite rare, corresponding, when it does occur, to my /ə/ occurring before /w/. The following table compares the vowels of Mann, Wahby (1929), and this work:

Mann	Wahby	This Work
î	ی	i
i	ى	ɨ
	ي	ɨ̣
ê	ێ	e
a ă a̤ e o	ە	ə
â	ا	a
u	و	ʉ
û	وو	u
ü̂	وي	we
ô	ۆ	o

W. Ivanow, in Notes on Khorasani Kurdish, Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series 23.167-236 (1927), comes to a rather similar statement on the vowels. His symbol ä corresponds to my /ə/.

None of the other works on Sulaimaniya Kurdish merits particular note here: Ṣidqi's listing of the Arabic alphabet is not very revealing of the phonemes or their phonetic nature. Soane is inaccurate and incomplete. Chodzko, although inconsistent in his transcription, does show one point of special interest: he uses sometimes the symbol y where I have /ɨ/. Although he gives no explanation of his symbol, this must be an instance of the traditional use of y for the Slavic high central vowel.

/azaí/ [a:za:ˈi:] 'freedom' but /də́sti/ [ˈdəsti] 'his hand'. The phonemes listed below occur in all positions of the word unless otherwise noted. Square brackets [ ] enclose phonetic notations.

/i/ [i:] High close front unrounded long vowel; does not occur in unstressed word-final position. Examples: /ʔəcín/ 'we go'; /íš/ 'work'; /bír/ 'mind'; /žín/ 'life'; /sí/ 'thirty'; /šaí/ 'ceremony'; /azaí/ 'freedom'.

[i] High close front unrounded short vowel; occurs only in unstressed word-final position. Examples: /də́sti/ 'his hand'; /náwi/ 'his name'; /ʔəzáni/ 'you know'.

/ɨ/ [ɪ] High open front unrounded short vowel; does not occur final in the word. Examples: /mɨmkɨ́n/ 'possible'; /ɨmtiħán/ 'examination'; /sɨftə́ħ/ 'first sale of the day'.

/e/ [e^:] Mid very close front unrounded long vowel; does not occur in unstressed word-final position. Examples: /éš/ 'ache'; /sé/ 'three'; /bé/ 'without'; /ʔəcé/ 'goes'; /šéw/ 'evening meal'; /ewaré/ 'evening'; /helké/ 'egg'; /tér/ 'full'; /žér/ 'under'.

[e^] Mid very close front unrounded short vowel; occurs only in unstressed word final position. Example: /dwéne/ 'yesterday'.

/ə/ This phoneme has three principal allophonic types:

[ɛ] mid open front unrounded short vowel
[ə] mid central unrounded short vowel
[æ] low front unrounded short vowel

These three allophonic types demarcate the area of fluctuation of this phoneme; that is, an area ranging from mid open front to mid central to low front. In general, there is free fluctuation within the area, with the front allophones tending to appear in stressed syllables and the central allophones in unstressed ones: /gə́rm/ = [gɛ́r̄m ~ gə́r̄m ~ gǽr̄m] 'hot'; also: /bə́r/ 'front'; /sə́r/ 'head'; /bə́/ 'with'; /tə́rs/ 'dung'; /ə́sp/ 'horse'. The allophones are in complementary distribution in the following environments:

only [ɛ]: before /y/ or /i/ but not in the same syllable:
/hə́yə/ 'there is, are'; /gəwrə́yə/ 'is big'; /asudəí/ 'comfort'.

only [ə]: before /y/ and in the same syllable:
/ʔəybíniṃ/ 'I see him'; /hə́ybu/ 'he had'; /qsə́y kịrd/ 'he spoke'.

only [ə]: before /w/ (with lip rounding when in utterance medial position):
/ə́w/ 'he'; /əwán/ 'they'; /šə́w/ 'night'; /šəwán/ 'nights'.

Finally, the phoneme /ə/ has the allophone [ʌ] in the two words /ṣə́d/ 'one hundred' and /šə́ṣt/ 'sixty', where it is lowered and backed adjacent to velarized /ṣ/.

/a/	[a:]	Low central unrounded long vowel; does not occur in unstressed word-final position. Examples: /áw/ 'water'; /žán/ 'pain'; /asmán/ 'sky'; /már/ 'snake'; /səwá/ 'haggling'.
	[a]	Low central unrounded short vowel; occurs only in unstressed word-final position. Example: /káxa/ (title of respect in addressing elder brother).
/ị/[1]	[ï]	High back unrounded short vowel; occurs only before velar consonants, or in word-final position or adjacent to another vowel as the result of the dropping of a dental stop (see 2.323); never occurs in word-initial position. Examples: /də́stị/ 'your hand'; /gị́ł/ 'soil'; /sị́g/ 'stomach'; /dị́ł/ 'heart'
	[ɨ]	High central unrounded short vowel; does not occur before velar consonants, nor in word-initial or word-final position. Examples: /žị́n/ 'woman'; /də́stịt/ 'your hand'; /ˀə̆cịn/ 'they go'; /tị́rs/ 'fear'; /kị́lk/ 'tail'; /cị́l/ 'forty'.
/u/	[u:]	High close back rounded long vowel. Examples: /kúr/ 'hunchback'; /utél/ 'hotel'; /púl/ 'money'; /túr/ 'radish'; /dúr/ 'distant'; /xanú/ 'house'.
/ʉ/	[ʊ]	High open back rounded short vowel; does not occur in word-final position. Examples: /kʉ́ř/ 'boy'; /gʉ́l/ 'leprosy'; /kʉ́łk/ 'hen ready to lay eggs'; /kʉ́lk/ 'scratch'; /ʉstáz/ 'professor'.
/o/	[oˇ]	Mid open back rounded short vowel. Examples: /kór/ 'party' (of people); /tór/ 'fishing net'; /gól/ 'lake'; /kółk/ 'target'; /ostá/ 'master'; /bó tó/ 'for you' (sing).

2.12. Consonants[2]

Subsections (1)-(8) describe consonantal coarticulation processes. Section 2.121 is a listing of consonants with description and distribution of allophones (for distribution of phonemes see 2.14). Since a listing of all the allophones for each phoneme is not practicable, only principal allophonic types are given. Section 2.122 describes the two consonants of limited distribution.

(1) Voicing. Voiced consonants remain fully voiced after voiceless consonants or after silence, as /ł r z/ in /płá/ 'rung' (of a ladder),

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[1] Acknowledgement is made to Professor Kenneth L. Pike for help in analyzing the structure of this vowel.

[2] As in the case of vowels (see footnote 2, page 13), Wahby and Mann merit the greatest consideration in making comparisons. Both of these

/trozí/ 'wild cucumber', and /zewí/ 'ground' (as contrasted with /séwi/ 'his apple'). Stops and fricatives undergo partial regressive assimilation as to voicing before other stops or fricatives, e.g., /báš/ 'good' and /bážbu/ 'it was good'. These assimilation processes are described in morphophonemics, 2.3. Before silence, voiced stops and fricatives may become partially or fully unvoiced, as [sə́g ~ sə́gk ~ sə́k] 'dog'. Those final phonemes which vary in the degree of their voicing are regularly represented in this analysis by the symbols of the voiced phonemes, as /sə́g/.

(2) Release and Aspiration. All stops are fully released in all positions of the utterance. Voiceless stops (except uvular and glottal) are slightly aspirated in word-initial position, and may or may not be aspirated in word-final position. This aspiration in word-initial position occurs both with single consonants (as in /káka [illegible] and with consonant clusters (as in /ktéb/ 'book', /tfə́ŋ/ 'rifle').

(3) Palatalization. In normal style, the stops /p k g/ and the fricative /f/ are usually palatalized before higher front vowels and semiconsonants, that is, before the front vowels /i ɨ e/, the semiconsonant /y/, and the allophone [ẅ] of the semiconsonant /w/. In the case of the velar stops, it is not so much a matter of palatalized stops as it is of palatal affricates. That is, these are not sequences of stop plus /y/, but palatal affricates which, to the uninitiated, sound more like [tš] and [dž]. /p/ and /f/ are coarticulated simultaneously with a palatal off-glide (that is, the middle of the tongue approaches the palate to produce the off-glide); these can be represented phonetically by [p^y] and [f^y]. Palatalization ordinarily does not occur in deliberate style.

(4) Affricates. The phonetic sequences [tš] and [dž] have been interpreted as compound unit phonemes /c/ and /j/ rather than as sequences of two single phonemes for the following reasons:

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agree with the analysis in this work for the following consonants: /p b t d k g q ʔ f s z š ž x ǥ ħ ɛ h c j m n l ł r w y/. In addition to these 27 consonants, Wahby and this work show the consonants /v/ and /ř/. This work, alone of the three, shows /ŋ/ as well as /ṣ/. Wahby has two special symbols and for and respectively, merely to show in which positions /t/ and /d/ may be dropped (see 2.323). Wahby uses single letters for all consonants except /ŋ/, for which the digraph (= ng) is used. All three works distinguish between dental /l/ and velarized /ł/, but only Wahby and this work distinguish between flap /r/ and trill /ř/. /v/, like /ṣ/, is limited in its distribution, occurring in a dozen words at most. Mukri Kurdish shows no v at all. On the other hand, Chodzko, writing in 1857, recorded no w at all, showing v where Sulaimaniya has /w/ today. While it is possible that the dialect has seen a change in phoneme in the past hundred years, it seems more likely that this inconsistency is due to a difference in dialect or idiolect.

(a) Interpretation as a series of two consonants would create a word-initial cluster of three consonants. Since three-consonant clusters do not otherwise exist in word-initial position[1], only an interpretation as unit phonemes avoids violating the basic structure of Kurdish words (see 2.132).

(b) The combinations /št/ and /žd/ do not occur in word-initial position; this strengthens the interpretation as unit phonemes.[2]

(c) In every instance where the sequences /tš/ and /dž/ occur in Sulaimaniya Kurdish, the closely-related dialects of Ruwandiz and Batas show /ts/ and /dz/ respectively. On the other hand, the sequences /ts/ and /dz/ do not occur in the corpus. Thus, these two sequences each function as integral units when compared with other dialects.

(d) Native orthographies treat these as two unit phonemes (see 1.3). Thus, the reaction of the literate native speaker favors this interpretation, although it must be noted that in every case the native orthographies are based on other orthographies which themselves have special characters for the affricates /c/ and /j/.

An argument against the interpretation of /tš/ and /dž/ as compound unit phonemes is the fact that affricates alone of all types of consonants do not occur as the first member of two-consonant clusters (including geminate clusters) (see 2.143).

(5) Laterals. Kurdish distinguishes phonemically between a "clear" and a "dark" lateral, as /gɨl/ 'leprosy' and /gɨɫ/ 'rose'. The clear lateral /l/ is articulated with the tongue tip making contact behind the teeth and the tongue back neutral as to vocalic quality. The dark lateral /ɫ/ is alveolar and is articulated with the tongue dorsum raised in the oral cavity, giving velar resonance. This velar resonance appreciably colors the quality of the preceding vowel /ị/, which is realized in this environment as its back allophone [ï], as opposed to [ɨ] before clear /l/.

(6) Velarization. In addition to the velarized lateral of the preceding subsection, there is a velarized voiceless alveolar sibilant /ṣ/, a phoneme of limited distribution (see 2.122). The velarization colors the adjacent vowel: in the words /ṣád/ 'one hundred' and /šáṣt/ 'sixty' the vowels are actualized as lowered mid open, slightly backed [ʌ̓].

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[1] Except /txwá/, an interjection of surprise. I reject this as establishing a pattern because (1) it is unique in the language (excepting, of course, the clusters in /tš/ and /dž/ which are themselves under analysis), and (2) interjections very often contain extra-systematic sounds or arrangements of sounds; cf. the alveolar click, which denotes commiseration for English speakers and 'no' for Arabic speakers, although the click is not a phoneme in either language; and (3) this form exists alongside of /tuxwá/ with the same meaning and is obviously a contraction of it.

[2] See Kenneth L. Pike, Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing (Ann Arbor, 1947) 132.

(7) Gemination. All types of consonants except affricates occur geminate; for a listing of these consonants see 2.142. Geminate consonants are phonetically long, and occur only intervocalically in the word.

(8) Vibrants. There is a phonemic contrast between the flap /r/ and the trill /ř/. The flap is articulated by striking the tip of the tongue once against the alveolar ridge; the trill is a rapid succession of flaps. The distinction is not a heavily marked one; it is especially difficult to detect the difference in word-final position. The contrast is neutralized at the beginning of the word, only the trill occurring there. Only the flap occurs intervocalically as a rule; the trill occurs there only as the result of word formation (see 4.22). There are two possible interpretations of the trill; as a single phoneme or as a series of separate phonemes. The latter interpretation is supported by the fact that of the vowels /ʉ/ and /u/, only /ʉ/, which tends to occur only before consonant clusters (see 2.141), occurs before /ř/ while /u/, which tends not to occur before consonant clusters, does not occur before /ř/. However the trill is interpreted here as a single phoneme because (1) it contrasts in identical environment with the flap: /brín/ 'to wound' and /břín/ 'to cut'; (2) if interpreted as a geminate cluster it would be the only geminate cluster occurring in an environment other than intervocalic; and (3) clusters as /rr/ and /řr/ occur, as /nerrábu/ 'it has been sent' and /ʔəkịřré/ 'it will be sold'; if interpreted as a geminate cluster then the existence of clusters of three identical consonants would have to be assumed.

2.121. The Consonant Phonemes.

This subsection treats of the structure of the individual phoneme; phoneme distribution, both in clusters and as single phonemes, is described in 2.14. In the following listing, it is to be understood that, unless otherwise noted, a phoneme occurs initially, intervocalically, or finally in the word. Numbers in parentheses refer to respective paragraphs in the preceding subsection.

Stops (2,3,7)

/p/	[p]	Voiceless bilabial stop (2); does not occur before /e/. Examples: /pə́nd/ 'pun, trick'; /pšilə́/ 'cat'; /bapír/ 'grandfather'; /ə́sp/ 'horse'.
	[p^y]	Palatalized voiceless bilabial stop (3); occurs only before /e/. Example: /pénj/ 'five'.
/b/	[b]	Voiced bilabial stop. Examples: /bə́nd/ 'cord'; /bịrị́nj/ 'rice'; /mrəbbə́/ 'jam'; /ktéb/ 'book'
/t/	[t]	Voiceless dental stop (2). Examples: /tó/ 'you' (sing); /kʉ́rt/ 'short'; /tfə́ŋ/ 'rifle'; /xótan/ 'yourselves'; /jʉ́t/ 'a pair' (rugs, dice).

/d/	[d]	Voiced dental stop. Examples: /dó/ (a fermented milk drink); /kʉ́rd/ 'Kurd'; /dán/ 'tooth'; /šažadə́/ 'prince, princess'; /bə́rd/ 'rock'.
/k/	[k]	Voiceless velar stop (2) (3); does not occur before mid close front or high front vowels or semiconsonants. Examples: /kwá/ 'where?'; /kə́y/ 'when?'; /kə́s/ 'person'; /kón/ 'old'; /nə́kə/ 'if he does not do'; /kʉ́ř/ 'boy'; /ktéb/ 'book'; /gə́lek/ 'a little'.
	[kʸ]	Palatalized voiceless velar stop; occurs only before mid close front or high front vowels or semiconsonants (i.e., /i ɨ e y/ and [w̃]; see (3)). Examples: /kwé/ 'where?'; /ké/ 'who?'; /mʉmkɨ́n/ 'possible'; /kwér/ 'blind'.
/g/	[g]	Voiced velar stop; does not occur before close mid front or high front vowels or semiconsonants (3). Examples: /gə́z/ 'bite'; /agá/ 'care'; /gú/ 'excrement'; /góšt/ 'meat'; /sə́g/ 'dog'.
	[gʸ]	Palatalized voiced velar stop; occurs only before close mid front or high front vowels or semiconsonants (3). Examples: /gwé/ 'eye'; /gián/ 'soul'; /ʔəgérnəvə/ 'they relate'.
/q/	[q]	Voiceless uvular stop (2). Examples: /qə́y nákə/ 'it doesn't matter'; /qʉrbán/ 'you' (polite); /bərqiyə́/ 'telegram'; /láq/ 'leg'; /fə́rq/ 'difference'.
/ʔ/	[ʔ]	Glottal stop. Examples: /nə́ʔəhat/ 'he wasn't coming'; /ʔəʔawsét/ 'it swells up'; /ʔəyʔəŋgéwi̯m/ 'I'll shoot him'; /nə́ʔ/ 'no'.

Affricates (4)

/c/	[tš]	Voiceless alveopalatal affricate. Examples: /cám/ 'my tea'; /có/ 'go'; /cón/ 'how?'; /cə́nd/ 'how much?'; /kɨ̣cek/ 'a girl'; /mác/ 'kiss'.
/j/	[dž]	Voiced alveopalatal affricate. Examples: /jám/ 'bowl'; /jó/ 'barley'; /jú/ 'Jew'; /hənjír/ 'figs'; /táj/ 'crown'.

Fricatives (3)

/f/	[f]	Voiceless labiodental fricative; does not occur before /e/. Examples: /fə́rš/ 'rug'; /fanilə́/ 'undershirt'; /hafíz/ 'Protector'; /zaʕíf/ 'weak'.
	[fʸ]	Palatalized voiceless labiodental fricative; occurs only before /e/. Examples: /feník/ 'cool'; /fér bún/ 'learning' (verbal noun).
/v/	[v]	Voiced labiodental fricative; see 2.122.

/s/	[s]	Voiceless dental sibilant. Examples: /sinə́/ 'tray'; /tị́rs/ 'fear'; /kə́s/ 'person'; /pəstə́/ 'chorus'; /spí/ 'white'; /šusé/ 'glass' (material); /sér/ 'strange'.
/z/	[z]	Voiced dental sibilant. Examples: /zín/ 'saddle'; /gə́z/ (unit of measure for cloth); /hərzán/ 'cheap'.
/ṣ/	[ṣ]	Velarized voiceless alveolar sibilant; see 2.12. (6) and 2.122.
/š/	[š]	Voiceless alveopalatal sibilant. Examples: /šín/ 'blue'; /tịrš/ 'sour'; /báš/ 'good'; /mešulə́/ 'mosquito'; /štəkánịm/ 'my things'.
/ž/	[ž]	Voiced alveopalatal sibilant. Examples: /žín/ 'life'; /žapón/ 'Japan'; /šažị́n/ 'queen'; /dréž/ 'long'.
/x/	[x]	Voiceless velar fricative. Examples: /xwá/ 'god'; /xóš/ 'pleasant'; /xə́w/ 'dream'; /dáx/ 'sorrow'; /širəxór/ 'infant'.
/ǥ/	[ǥ]	Voiced velar fricative. Examples: /aǥá/ 'agha'; /ǥələ́t/ 'mistake'; /ǥaribí/ 'foreign land'; /báǥ/ 'garden'.
/ħ/	[ħ]	Voiceless faucalized pharyngal fricative. Examples: /ħəywán/ 'animal'; /zəħmə́t/ 'trouble, bother'; /ħówt/ 'seven'; /təzbíħ/ 'prayer beads'.
/ɛ̣/	[ʕ]	Voiced faucalized pharyngal fricative; no word-final occurrence noted. Examples: /ɛ̣áyb/ 'shame'; /ɛ̣ə́bə/ (woman's black cloak); /səɛ̣át/ 'time, watch, clock, hour'; /məɛ̣nə́/ 'meaning'.
/h/	[h]	Voiceless glottal fricative. Examples: /həywán/ (corridor bordering courtyard of house); /səhól/ 'ice'; /gunáh/ 'crime'.

Nasals

/m/	[m]	Voiced bilabial nasal. Examples: /mám/ 'uncle'; /méš/ 'fly'; /masí/ 'fish'; /həmanə́/ 'leather'; /ʔəkə́m/ 'I do'.
/n/	[n]	Voiced dental nasal; does not occur before velar stops or in the environment /a...z/. Examples: /nán/ 'bread'; /bán/ 'roof. plateau'; /pənjá/ 'fifty'; /ʔəkə́n/ 'they do'.
	[˜]	Nasalization of preceding vowel; occurs only in environment /a...z/. Examples: /panzə́/ [pã:ˈzə] 'fifteen'; /yanzə́/ 'eleven'; /banzín/ 'gasoline'.
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	Voiced velar nasal; does not occur initial in the word. Examples: /báŋ/ 'call, invitation'; /maŋú/ 'tired'; /həŋwin/ 'honey'; /də́ŋ/ 'voice'.

Laterals (l) (5)

/λ/ [l^{i}] Voiced clear dental lateral. Examples: /gʉλ/ 'leprosy'; /λéw/ 'lip'; /λá/ 'side'; /góλ/ 'lake'; /gλáw/ 'unclean'.

/ł/ [l^{u}] Voiced dark alveolar lateral (with tongue dorsum raised); does not occur initially in the word. Examples: /gʉł/ 'rose'; /gʉłáw/ 'rose water'; /płá/ 'rung' (of ladder); /gịł/ 'soil'.

Vibrants (l) (8)

/r/ [r̆] Voiced alveolar flap; does not occur initially in the word. Examples: /brín/ 'to wound'; /krín/ 'to buy'; /ʔənerré/ 'it will be sent'; /širín/ 'sweet'; /kár/ 'donkey'; /báfr/ 'snow'.

/ř/ [r̃] Voiced alveolar trill; occurs intervocalically only as result of word formation: see 4.22. Examples: /břín/ 'to cut'; /křín/ 'to rub'; /řóž/ 'sun, day'; /kář/ 'deaf'; /snoqəřəšəká/ 'the black box'; /řá/ 'away'.

Semiconsonants

/y/ [y] Voiced palatal glide. Examples: /yarí/ 'game, play'; /ʔəyəwé/ 'he wants'; /ʔəynásịm/ 'I know him'; /cáy/ 'tea'.

/w/ [w] Voiced labiovelar rounded glide; does not occur before close front vowels. Examples: /wá/ 'thus'; /wutucí/ 'laundryman'; /səwá/ 'haggling'; /xwardịn/ 'to eat'; /áw/ 'water'.

[w̃] Voiced high front rounded glide; occurs only before close front vowels. Examples: /werán/ 'ruin, ruination'; /áwi/ 'his water'; /həŋwín/ 'honey'; /gwéž/ 'nuts'.

2.122. Consonants of Limited Distribution. There are two consonants which are greatly restricted in their incidence in the lexicon, one consonant occurring mostly in onomatopoeic words and the other occurring in only two words. These are listed below with a complete accounting of their occurrences.

/v/ [v] Voiced labiodental fricative; occurs in any position of the word; limited to the following words: /vị́ř ~ vrəvị́ř/ (onomatopoeic sound of machines); /givə ~ givəgív/ (onomatopoeic sound of bullets); /ħəvvá ~ ħəvdá/ 'seventeen'; /govár/ 'magazine'; /vịŋəvị́ŋ/ (onomatopoeic sound of buzzing of bees).

/ṣ/ [ṣ] Voiceless velarized alveolar sibilant (see 2.12 (6)); occurs in two words: /ṣád/ 'one hundred'; /šáṣt/ 'sixty'.

2.13. The Syllable

Every word contains at least one syllable. The structure of the syllable was arrived at by having informants say certain words, giving each word in segments. Thus the syllable is defined as the smallest division of a word as pronounced in isolation by speakers of this dialect. The results obtained were uniform, and are summarized as follows:[1]

(1) A word has as many syllables as it has vowels. Thus /bə́fr/ 'snow' has one syllable; /niáz/ 'intention' has two syllables; and /azaí/ 'freedom' has three syllables.

(2) A single consonant between two vowels forms a syllable with the following vowel, as /názanịm/ 'I don't know'=[ná.za.nịm].

(3) In clusters of two or more consonants, syllable division comes between the last two consonants; however, if the last consonant of the cluster is a vibrant or a semiconsonant the division comes before the last two consonants. In the following, V represents any vowel; C represents any consonant; S, any stop, affricate, or fricative; N, any nasal, liquid, or semiconsonant; R, any vibrant or semiconsonant; and the period . indicates syllable division:

-C.C-	təš.pí	ħov.vó	dər.pé
-CC.C-	məwq.na.tís	řəsm.gịr	řoyš.tịn
-CCC.C-	gə́yst.mə.wə		

However,

-.CR-	ka.brə́	bə.nə.xwén	
-C.CR-	řas.trə́	yək.trí	máł.myan
-CC.CR-	none		

2.131. Syllable Structure.

Every syllable must contain one vowel, which may be preceded and/or followed by one or two consonants; two patterns show V preceded or followed by three consonants:

V	a.frə́t	'woman'
VC	aw.sán	'to swell up'
VCC	ašt	'peace'
CV	ša	'king'
CVC	fən.ján	'cup'
CVCC	fərš	'rug'

---

[1] Wahby mentions syllables in his Xõndewariy' baw. He states on page 4 that there are as many syllables as there are vowels, but does not formulate rules for dividing the word into syllables. In his examples, a consonant occurring between vowels forms a syllable with the following vowel, as mamizeke = ma mi ze ke ['the fox': my /mamịzəkə/]. The sole illustration with a consonant cluster is Xurmalh which he divides thus: Xur malh.

CVCCC	řóyšt	'he went'
CCV	třé	'grapes'
CCVC	ktéb	'book'
CCVCC	ša.tríṇj	'chess'
CCCV	txwá	(interjection expressing surprise) this is the only occurrence of this pattern: see see footnote, page 18.

Any combination of these syllable patterns is possible, if no cluster of more than four consonants results, as /řóyštịm/ 'I went' - /řóyštməwə/ 'I went back'.

2.14. Distribution of Phonemes

Sections 2.11 and 2.12 list the vowels and consonants respectively, giving the distribution of the principal allophonic types of each phoneme. This section gives the distribution of phonemes in both the syllable and the word, without reference to allophonic variations. For the phonemes of limited distribution /v ṣ/, see 2.122.

2.141. Vowels. Although it is necessary to set up two sets of phonemes /i ɨ/ and /u ʉ/ because of such contrasts as /ʔəcín/ 'they go': /mʉmkɨ́n/ 'possible' and /púl/ 'money': /gʉ́l/ 'leprosy', the contrasts are, in effect, neutralized in the environment VCC, where only the open varieties tend to occur, e.g., /dá nɨštịn/ 'they sat down' and /nɨ́stịn/ 'they slept'. The present stems of these verbs show the close varieties, as /dá ʔəníšịn/ 'they sit down' and /ʔənún/ 'they sleep'. In case of forms like /nɨ́stịn/, (D) /núst̤ịn/ may also occur as a careful pronunciation, without difference in meaning.

The formulas at the left refer to syllable types found in 2.131.

(1) One vowel

V- (a) Initial. All vowels except /ị/ occur initially in the syllable or word.

.V. (b) Medial. All except high vowels occur as a complete syllable.
-V- All vowels occur medially in the word.

CV. (c) Final. All vowels occur finally in the syllable. All vowels
CV except /ɨ/ and /ʉ/ occur finally in the word. /ị/ occurs finally in words only as the result of the dropping of a dental stop: see 2.323.

(2) More than one vowel

-V.V- Two vowels may occur contiguously in a word, forming separate syllables, as /ni.áz/ 'intention' and /ša.í/ 'ceremony'; however high open vowels do not occur contiguous to other vowels. /ị/ provides exceptions to these rules: as the result of the dropping of dental stop (2.323) /ị/ occurs contiguous to another vowel and does not form a separate syllable when it occurs finally in the word and after another vowel. For vowel morphophonemics, see 2.31. Sequences of more than two vowels have not been recorded.

2.142. Consonants. In 2.122 the full occurrence of the phonemes of limited distribution /v ṣ/ is given. From observation it is evident that there are other consonants, all of back articulation (from velum to glottis) and occurring for the most part in loan words, which are also of comparatively low incidence in the corpus, although not so low as to merit a complete listing of the items in which they occur. These are /ǥ ħ ɛ ʔ/. In the following, all consonants except /v ṣ/ are considered.

(1) One consonant

C- (a) Initial. All consonants except /ŋ r̄ ł/ occur initially in the
-.C syllable and the word; /ŋ r̄ ł/ may occur initially in the syllable, however, only if that syllable is not initial in the word: /kịrím/ 'worm'; /xaħíz/ 'charcoal'; /dáŋi/ 'his voice'. Thus, loan words which begin with /r/ in the lending language, e.g. Arabic ramadân 'Ramazan', regularly show /r̄/ in Kurdish: /r̄amazán/.

-C- (b) Medial. No consonant occurs medially in the syllable, but all consonants occur medially within the word.

-C. (c) Final. All consonants occur finally in the syllable. /c j ǥ ʔ/, however, occur finally in the syllable only when that syllable itself is final in the word: /kị́c/ 'girl'; /dərə́j/ 'degree'; /qəłəbáłəǥ/ 'crowd'; /nə́ʔ/ 'no'. /ɛ/ occurs finally in the syllable but not in the word: /məɛnə́/ 'meaning'; /ɛ/ is the only consonant for which no word-final occurrence was noted in the corpus.

(2) Two consonants

-.CR- (a) Initial. When in word-medial position, the syllable may begin with a stop plus /r/ or with any consonant plus a semiconsonant. Formulas at the left refer to the cluster types of 2.13 (3):

consonant + vibrant or semiconsonant	
zir.brá	'step-brother'
bənə.xwén	'belt-cord'
máł.myan	'they...my house' (cf. (1) under 5.41)

CC- The word, or, when it is in word-initial position, the syllable, may begin with the following combinations:

stop + stop

(D) tk tká 'thanks' kt ktéb 'book'

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stop + affricate

pc	pcúk	'little'			

stop + fricative

pš	pšiló	'cat'	qs	qsó	'speech'
tf	tfóŋ	'rifle			

stop + liquid

pł	płá	'rung' (of ladder)	dr	dróŋ	'late'
bl	blé	'say!'	dř	dřandín	'to tear'
pr	propəlantó	'propaganda'	kr	krín	'to buy'
br	brayətí	'brotherhood'	kř	křín	'to rub'
bř	břín	'to cut'	gr	grów	'a bet'
tr	trozí	'wild cucumber'	gř	gřán	'expensive'

stop + semiconsonant

py	pyáw	'man'	dy	dyárə	'obviously, of course'
tw	twé	'slice'	kw	kwér	'blind'

affricate + nasal

jn	jnábtan	'you' (polite)			

affricate + semiconsonant

cw	cwár	'four'	jw	jwán	'beautiful'

fricative + stop

sp	spí	'white'	šk	škáyəwə	'is broken'
sk	skút	'silence'			

fricative + fricative

sf	sfúr	'without /ṭaba/' (said of women)			

fricative + nasal

sn	snóq	'box'	žm	žmardįn	'to count'
zm	zmán	'language'			

fricative + liquid

fl	flán	'So and So'	vr	vrəvị́ř	(sound of machines)
fr	frošyar	'customer'	zř	zřé	(sound of tinkling object)
xr	xráp	'bad'			

fricative + semiconsonant

xw	xwarú	'south'			

nasal + semiconsonant

nw	nwé	'new'			

liquid + affricate

řj	řjá	'hope'			

liquid + semiconsonant

řw	řwán	'to grow' (intransitive)

(b) Medial. The syllable never contains consonants in medial position. The word may contain the following two-consonant clusters in medial position:

-C.C-

stop + stop

pq	qəpqə́p	(sound of wooden shoes)	qq	hoqqá	(a measure of weight)
bb	mrəbbə́	'jam'	tt	ɛ̣əttár	'perfume shop, notions shop'
bt	ịnábtan	'you' (polite)	kk	təšəkkúr	'thanks'
bk	gobkə́	(a kind of flower)	kg	yəkgịrtwəkán	'united'
			gb	səgbáz	'dog fancier'

stop + affricate

pc	qopcə́	'button'

stop + fricative

ks	yəksə́r	'directly'	qx	ɛ̣ərəqxə́r	'a heavy drinker'

stop + nasal

bn	lɨbnán	'Lebanon'	tn	wɨtnəwə	'they taught'

-.CR-

stop + liquid

pr	yaprə́x	'stuffed cabbage rolls'	dr	ˀədrúm	'I sew'
			kr	bịkrị́m	'I buy' (subjunctive)
br	kabrə́	'fellow, old man'	kř	ˀəkřịm	'I rub'
tr	šatrị́nj	'chess'	qł	ɛ̣aqłə́	'intelligence'

stop + semiconsonant

ty	ˀətyešé	'it pains you'	qy	fəqyanə́	'Kurdish long-sleeved shirt'

fricative + stop

ft	haftə́	'week	šb	ɨšbílio	'Lisbon'
fk	lịfkə́	'wash-rag'	št	šuštị́n	'to wash'
vd	ħəvdə́	'seventeen'	žd	əždihə́	(a fabulous animal)
sb	nɨsbə́t	'comparison'	xt	nə́xtek	'a little bit'
st	está	'now'	ɛ̣t	təɛ̣tíl	'vacation'
zb	təzbíħ	'prayer beads'	ħt	ɨħtirám	'respect'
zg	mịzgə́wt	'mosque'	ht	mɨħtə́məl	'possible
šp	təšpí	'wooden dish'			

fricative + fricative

vv	ħəvvə́	'seventeen'	xš	bəxšín	'to forgive'
žh	řožhəłát	'sunrise, east'			

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fricative + nasal

žm	ˀəžmérịm	‘I count’	ħm	zəħmə́t	‘trouble, bother’
ɛn	məɛnə́	‘meaning’			

fricative + liquid

fr	sɨfrə́	‘zero’	zr	dịzrá	‘was stolen’
sr	nəsrín	(girl’s name)			

fricative + semiconsonant

šy	hušyár	‘sober’	hw	šəhwaní	‘hermaphrodite’
xw	bəndəxwə́n	‘belt-cord’			

nasal + stop

nb	boinbáx	‘necktie’	nd	mandú	‘tired’
nt	ɛantikə́i	‘funny’	nk	mịlwankə́	‘necklace’

nasal + affricate

nj	fənján	‘cup’

nasal + fricative

mš	šəmšəməkwə́r	‘bat’ (animal)	nz	dwanzə́	‘twelve’
ns	ɨnsánek	‘a person’			

nasal + nasal

mm	səmmún	‘French bread’	nm	gənməsámi	‘corn’
mn	məmnún	‘thanks’	nn	geránnəwə	‘to tell, relate’

nasal + liquid

mř	kəmřə́ŋ	‘light’ (in color)	nř	honřáwə	‘poem’

nasal + semiconsonant

my	ˀəmyešé	‘it pains me’	nw	ˀənwé	‘he will sleep’

liquid + stop

lb	pulbáz	‘stamp collector’	rt	girtịn	‘to take, grasp’
łt	dịłtə́ŋ	‘sad’	rd	bịrdịn	‘to carry’
lk	cawilkə́	‘eyeglasses’	rg	dərgá	‘door’
łt	gałtə́	‘joke’	rq	bərqiyə́	‘telegram’
łk	bə́łku	‘perhaps’	řb	tořbə́	‘musette bag’
rp	dərpé	‘undershorts’	řd	bịřdótəwə	‘you won’
rb	ogɨ́rbe	‘Where are you going?’ (polite)			

liquid + affricate

rc	ɛəttarcí	‘perfumer, notions shopkeeper’

liquid + fricative

łf	jiłfá	‘slang’	rz	dərzí	‘needle’
łx	xułxułoká	‘top’ (which spins)	rx	zirxóšk	‘step-sister’
rf	girfán	‘pocket’	rɛ	qurɛán	‘Koran’

liquid + nasal

rm	hərmé	'pear'	rn	zorná	'flute'

liquid + liquid

ll	kʉllə́	'mosquito net'

liquid + semiconsonant

lw	miḷwankə́	'necklace'	rw	miṛwarí	'pearl'
ly	məḷyún	'million'	ry	qəryolə́	'cot'

semiconsonant + stop

wb	səwbə́	(a kind of flower)	wq	məwqnatís	'magnetism'
wt	kəwtị́n	'to fall'	yt	paytə́xt	'capital'
wk	pərdəwkʉllə́	'mosquito net'			

semiconsonant + affricate

yc	qəycí	'scissors'

semiconsonant + fricative

wx	təwxá	'bobby pin'

semiconsonant + nasal

yn	ʔəynásịm	'I know him'

semiconsonant + liquid

wl	xawlí	'towel'	wr	awrišị́m	'silk'

semiconsonant + semiconsonant

ww	əwwáḷ	'first'	yy	ʔəyyešé	'it pains him'
yw	həywán	'corridor along patio'			

Gemination. All types of consonants except affricates occur in geminate clusters.

bb	mrəbbə́	'jam'	mm	səmmún	'French bread'
tt	ţəttár	'notions shop'	nn	kužánnəwə	'to turn off'
kk	təšəkkʉ́r	'thanks'	ll	kʉllə́	'mosquito net'
qq	hoqqá	(measure of weight)	ww	əwwáḷ	'first'
vv	ħəvvə́	'seventeen'	yy	ʔəyyešé	'it pains him'

(c) Final. The syllable in word-final position may end in a two-consonant cluster provided that the following syllable begins with any consonant other than a liquid or semiconsonant: /řəsm.gịr/ 'photographer'. The following types of clusters occur in syllable-final position when the syllable itself is not word-final:

-CC.C-

continuant + stop

semiconsonant and stop:	məwq.natís	'magnetism'

continuant + continuant

fricative and nasal:	řəsm.gị́r	'photographer'
nasal and fricative:	yanz.də́	'eleven'
liquid and fricative:	qərz.dár	'debtor'
semiconsonant and fr..ative:	gə́yš.tịm	'I arrived'

The following types of clusters occur finally in words and in syllables which are final in the word:

-CC

stop + fricative

qf	sə́qf	'ceiling'			

fricative + stop

st	mást	'yoghurt'	št	ašt	'peace'
šk	zirxóšk	'step-sister'			

fricative + nasal

sm	řə́sm	'picture'	žn	jə́žn	(Muslim holiday)
zm	nịzm	'low'	ħm	řə́ħm	'mercy'

fricative + liquid

ʕł	naʕł	'leather slippers'			

nasal + stop

nt	kánt	'straight' (in poker)	nd	pə́nd	'trick, pun'

nasal + affricate

nj	qazánj	'profit'			

nasal + liquid

mr	ʕə́mr	'age' (years)			

liquid + stop

lk	kị́lk	'tail'	rd	mérd	'man, husband'
lq	xə́lq	'people'	rg	mə́rg	'pasture'
łk	kə́łk	'use' (noun)	rq	fə́rq	'difference'
rt	šə́rt	'condition, proviso'			

liquid + affricate

rc	nuqʉ́rc	'a pinch'			

liquid + fricative

rf	sə́rf	'spending' (noun)	rš	fə́rš	'rug'
rs	qʉ́rs	'difficult'	rx	bə́rx	'lamb'
rz	ʕə́rz ~ ʔə́rz	'ground'			

liquid + nasal

rm	gə́rm	'hot'			

semiconsonant + stop

wt	ħə́wt	'eight'	wq	šə́wq	'light' (noun)

semiconsonant + fricative

wẓ	sə́wẓ	'green'

Semiconsonants do not occur as the final member of word-final clusters. Geminate clusters do not occur finally in the word.

(3) Three consonants

(a) Initial. No occurrence noted in either syllable or word (see footnote, page 18).

(b) Medial. No occurrence noted in syllable; in the word, the following types of word-medial three-consonant clusters occur:

-C.CR Third member a vibrant or a semiconsonant: the first two members may be either continuants or stops; syllable division is between the first two members:

yək.trí	'each other'
řas.trə́	'is more correct'

-RC.C- Third member is any consonant but a vibrant or a semiconsonant: the first two consonants are continuants (the first being a liquid or semiconsonant and the second being a fricative); syllable division is between the second and third consonants:

řoyš.tį́n	'to go'
qərz.dár	'debtor'

-CCC (c) Final. Syllable, word: here occur clusters of two continuants and a stop, with the first continuant a semiconsonant:

řóyšt	'he went'

-CCC.C- This same combination may occur finally in any syllable which is followed by another syllable beginning with any consonant other than a vibrant or semiconsonant:

gə́yšt.məwə	'I arrived back'

(4) Four consonants

Syllable: no occurrence. Word: only the word-medial cluster of the type continuant-continuant-stop-continuant occurs:

-CCCC-	gə́yštməwə	'I arrived back'

(5) No occurrences of clusters with more than four consonants have been noted.

2.143. Summary. (1) Vowels. Any vowel may occur in any position in the word, with the following two exceptions: that /ị/ never occurs initially in the word, and that no high open vowel except /ị/ occurs finally in the word. Any vowel except /ɨ ʉ ị/ may constitute an entire syllable. Clusters of two vowels occur in word-medial or word-final position; they may contain any combination of vowels, except that no high open vowel except /ị/ occurs contiguous to other vowels.

It is evident that the high open vowels /ɨ ʉ ị/ are different from the other vowels in their distribution and occurrence. These three vowels alone of all the vowels do not form entire syllables and do not occur contiguous to other vowels or in final position in the word, except that /ị/ does occur in these two latter positions when dental stops are dropped (for which see 2.323).[1]

(2) Consonants. (a) One consonant: any consonant may occur in any position in the word, except that /ŋ r ł/ do not occur initially in the word, and no word-final occurrence of /ṭ/ has been found. /ř/ is rare intervocalically, resulting only from word formation, and /c j ǥ ʔ/ occur syllable-final only when the syllable is final in the word.

(b) Two consonants: initially, any type of consonant may be either the first or second member of a word-initial two-consonant cluster, except that 1) semiconsonants are never the first member of the cluster; 2) stops are not followed by nasals; 3) only stops and affricates take a stop as second member; and 4) clusters of stop + stop are the only clusters with two consonants of the same category. Medially, all thirty-six of the theoretically possible combinations of categories occur except those beginning with affricates. By the same token, consonants of every category except affricates occur in geminate clusters. In final position in the word, at least one of the two consonants must be a continuant, except that no affricate or semiconsonant occurs as the second member and that no cluster contains both members of the same category.

(c) Three-consonant clusters do not occur initially in words. Medially, they must have at least one continuant, and may contain as many as three. If there is one stop or affricate, it occupies the second or third place. If there are two stops or sffricates, the third member of the cluster is a vibrant. Three-consonant clusters in word-final position contain a semiconsonant and continuant and stop.

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[1] This would imply that these vowels may be in a transitional stage. This is further substantiated in the case of /ɨ/ and /ʉ/ by the fact that while /ị/ is of very high incidence in the lexicon the vowels /ɨ/ and /ʉ/ are greatly restricted in their occurrence. Further investigation shows that (1) /ị/ occurs generally in words of Iranian origin; and (2) most instances of /ɨ/ and /ʉ/ are in loans from Arabic, although even words which are of Iranian origin historically now show /ɨ/ and /ʉ/ rather than /i/ and /u/ before two-consonant clusters, as /ɨ́nja/ 'then, in that case' and /kʉrd/ 'Kurd'. Before a single consonant, either may occur, as /mʉmkɨ́n/ and /ʔəcín/; /gʉ́l/ and /púl/.

Thus, it would appear that /ị/, although a normal development in Kurdish, is in transition as a result of the patterning of the dental stops as referred to above.

(d) The only four-consonant clusters occurring are of the type semiconsonant-continuant-stop-continuant in word-medial position.

It is possible, in a general way, to rephrase this clustering using numbers, in which the higher the number the greater the degree of sonority indicated and the greater the proximity of the consonant to the vowel, as

6	semiconsonants
5	liquids
4	nasals
3	fricatives
2	affricates
1	stops

The occurrence of consonants in clusters can be charted as follows, with the first member of the cluster in the horizontal row and the second member in the vertical column:

CC-	6	5	4	3	2	1
6		56	46	36	26	16
5			45	35		15
4				34	24	
3				33		13
2						12
1				31		11

-CC-	6	5	4	3	2	1
6	66	56	46	36		16
5	65	55	45	35		15
4	64	54	44	34		14
3	63	53	43	33		13
2	62	52	42			12
1	61	51	41	31		11

-CC	6	5	4	3	2	1
6						
5			45	35		
4		54		34		
3	63	53				13
2		52	42			
1	61	51	41	31		

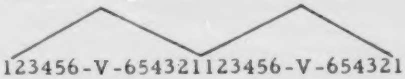
-CCC- -614- -416- -315-
-631- -531- -431- -341- -115-

-CCC -631-

-CCCC- -6314-

As indicated above, the greater the sonority of a consonant the greater its relative proximity to the syllabic (vowel). Thus, the consonants in a word-initial cluster show increasing sonority, word-final clusters show a decrease in sonority, while medial clusters may show a decrease or increase or first an increase and then a decrease in sonority. Exceptions to this general trend do occur, as /spí/ 'white' = 31-, a decrease in sonority even though the second consonant is closer to the syllabic.

With initial clusters limited to two consonants, final clusters limited to three, and medial clusters limited to four, a given cluster will for the most part contain any combination or categories of consonants in the same relative sequence as they appear in the following formula (solid line indicates relative amount of sonority):



2.2. Non-linear Phonemes[1]

Non-linear phonemes are lexical stress, primary stress, and intonation. They will be presented in that order.

2.21. Lexical Stress

Stress is phonemic in Kurdish, as evidenced by the pairs /morə́/ 'dice' and /mórə/ 'it is purple', and /lə pášəwə/ 'afterwards' and /lə páš əwə́/ 'after that'. Phonetically, there are three degrees of stress, or loudness of pronunciation: loud, medium, and weak. These are indicated by the acute accent (´) for loud stress, the grave accent (`) for medium stress, and no mark for weak stress. The placement of loud stress is not predictable, although in general it falls on the ultima unless the ultima is an inflectional suffix. The placement of both medium and weak is determined by the position of loud stress: a word has only one loud stress; all other syllables receive weak stress, except that the pre-pretonic or the post-posttonic, if any, receives medium stress, as

ɥəłəbáləg = qə̀łəbáləg	'crowd'
gə́yštməwə = gə́štməwə̀	'I arrived back'

Thus, there are two stress phonemes, phonemic loud, consisting of phonetic loud, and phonemic quiet, consisting of phonetic medium and phonetic weak. The latter are mutually exclusive in their placement, which is determined by the placement of loud stress. Only loud stress, therefore, is marked on words cited in this description.

2.22. Primary Stress

In the previous section, lexical or word stress is described as that particular fixed stress that every word pronounced as an entire utterance must have, as /náwiṭ/ 'your name', /penjərəkə́/ 'the window'. A word and its meaning are identified by the placement of this stress; compare /həmanə́/ 'leather' and /həmánə/ 'we have'. However, most utterances consist of more than one word, and usually not all of the words in the utterance are stressed fully. Any given word in an utterance may be pronounced louder than the rest, thereby receiving the primary emphasis or focus of attention in that utterance; the lexical stress of all the other words in the utterance is then suppressed. This type of stress is called primary stress and is symbolized in this section by ° before the word bearing it. The other words, with suppressed stress, are said to have *secondary stress*. Thus, every word has a fixed lexical stress, while it may have either primary or secondary stress in a given utterance. Thus,

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[1] Stress is not described in most works on Kurdish, and intonation is not described in any. When it is treated (Mann, Socin, Barr) stress seems to be similar in all the dialects — phonemic stress usually occurs on the ultima, except that inflectional suffixes are generally unstressed.

lérə °gənḭ́m hə́yə 'There is wheat here.'
°to gənḭm °nárwenı, gənḭ́m °ʔəcéni 'You don't *plant* wheat, you *sow* it.'

In the first sentence above, the syllable /nḭm/ has loud stress and the other syllables all bear weak stress. In both the following sentences /wa/ means 'thus' and /ʔəxóm/ means 'I (will) eat':

°wa ʔəxóm 'I eat like this.'
wa °ʔəxóm 'I'm going to eat right now.'

It must be pointed out that lexical meaning is not affected by the presence or absence of primary stress; in the first sentence /wa/ (manner) is emphasized over the verb (action), whereas in the second sentence the action is so strongly emphasized as to make it seem immediate or even in the act of beginning.

As a rule, negative forms (as /náxoyt/ 'you don't eat'), interrogatives (as /bóci/ 'why?'), and preverbs (as /dá/ 'down') receive primary stress:

°bóci nanəkə́t °náxoyt 'Why don't you eat (your bread)?'
hətá to °nə́yet mḭn °náxom 'I won't eat until you come' (literally, until you don't-come I don't-eat)
°štəkánḭm °da na ' 'I put my things down.' °da nišə 'Sit down.'
The subjunctive prefix /bḭ-/ is usually not stressed, as °cənd bḭhénḭm 'How much shall I bring?'

However, it may be stressed for special emphasis:

ə́gər °bḭ́zani, pem °bıe 'If you *do* know, tell me.'
da °bḭ́nišḭm '*Shall* I sit down?'

A sentence has at least one primary stress; the maximum is limited only by the length of the utterance. After this section, lexical stress as such will not be indicated. Primary stress will be indicated by and secondary stress by the absence of any such mark.

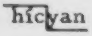
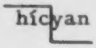
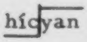
2.23. Intonation

Kurdish intonation will be analyzed on two levels: first, the pitch phonemes will be presented, and then a sketch of pitch morphemes will be given.

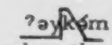
2.231. Pitch phonemes. Kurdish intonation can be described in terms of three phonemic levels of pitch or pitch phonemes, /1 2 3/. The higher the number, the higher the level of pitch it represents.

Acoustically, these pitch phonemes do not represent absolute frequencies of pitch, but rather constitute a structure of three ranges of pitch relative to each other. Pitch /2/ may be lower on an absolute scale at certain times than at other times, but it is always higher than /1/ and lower than /3/ in any given utterance. Further, if pitch /2/ occurs a number of times within a single utterance, it may well never hit the same absolute frequency twice, but will fall within a range of pitch, which can be characterized as pitch phoneme /2/. The relative distances between pitches, too, vary according to the style of speech: quiet style versus loud style, etc.; but such variations are not within the scope of this treatment.

Three separate pitch phonemes have been set up on the basis of the following types of contrast, in which the final pitches in the utterances contrast with each other:

$\overset{\acute{3}-\ \ -2}{\text{hícyan}}$		‘Neither of them?’ (question)
$\overset{\acute{3}-\ \ -1}{\text{hícyan}}$		‘Neither of them.’ (affirmation)
$\overset{\acute{2}-\ \ -3}{\text{hícyan}}$		‘Neither of them (did you say)?’ (repeated question)

In the examples above, numbers are phonemic representation and the solid lines are an approximate phonetic transcription. The acute accent over a number indicates a stressed syllable. The phonetic transcription is graphic and is not intended to show the exact pitch of each phoneme. In the utterance $\overset{3-\ \ -1}{\text{/hícyan/}}$ the pitch falls from level /3/ to level /1/. This is a gradual fall occurring over the length of both syllables. The exact shape of this fall is not significant; it is the beginning point and the ending point that determine the meaning of the intonation pattern. Such curves or changes in pitch may occur over a series of syllables, as above, or over a single vowel, as in

$\overset{2-\ \acute{3}-1}{\text{ʔəykə́m}}$		‘I'll do it’

This often happens when the last syllable of an utterance is a stressed one. In the utterances cited in the preceding paragraph, the pitch sequences such as /3́- -1/ and /2́- -3/, which begin with stressed pitches, are called contours. The sequence /2- 3́- -1/ contains a contour, /3́- -1/, and a precontour, /2/, which is an unstressed pitch occurring before a contour.

Three phonemic levels of pitch have been posited for Kurdish in this analysis. However, experience with two languages as widely separated as English and Turkish, both of which have four pitch phonemes, would make it seem reasonable to expect four levels in Kurdish as well. Kurdish does not, however, have the extra-high pitch that the other two languages have. This may be purely fortuitous in that no extra-high pitch occurred in any situation recorded in the corpus, and it is theoretically possible that further research would reveal an additional higher level or two for Kurdish.

2.232. Pitch Morphemes. Pitch morphemes may be simple, consisting of a single pitch phoneme, or compound, consisting of a sequence of pitch phonemes. These pitch morphemes never affect lexical meaning (as do pitches in a tone language), but rather betray the attitude of the speaker during the utterance: question versus affirmation; anger, sarcasm, surprise, etc. This meaning is spread over the entire length of the pitch morpheme sequence, whether it be over a monosyllable, as /$\overset{\acute{3}-1}{\text{con}}$/ 'How?', or over an utterance of a number of syllables; e.g.:

2-   3́-   -1
řəsmkešəkə́m nə́henawbu   'I hadn't taken my camera.'

(1) Simple pitch morphemes. There are three simple pitch morphemes, as follows:

a. {.} consisting of pitch phoneme /1/ (stressed or unstressed) and signifying completion.
b. {,} consisting of pitch phonemes /3́/ (stressed), /3/ (unstressed), or /2/ (unstressed) and signifying lack of completion in utterance-medial position and question in utterance-final position.
c. {-} consisting of pitch phoneme /2́/, and signifying emphasis.

These pitch morphemes occur only in pitch contours (see (2) below), and may be compared to bound morphemes on a lexico-morphological level, as the -ish in English boyish.

(2) Pitch Morpheme Contours. There are three basic pitch morpheme contours, rising {ˊ}, falling {ˋ}, and level {ˈ}. In describing these contours, a two-component symbol will be used in which the upper component indicates the type of contour (ˊˈˋ) and the lower component indicates the final pitch morpheme of the contour (.,-). Thus, {ˋ.} means a falling contour terminating on the simple pitch morpheme {.}, i.e. /2- -1/. The symbols ˊ and ˋ denote a change of one level only; if the rise or fall is over two levels, the accent is doubled: {ˋˋ.} means a fall of two levels to {.}, i.e., /3́- -1/.

(a) Falling contours have the general meaning of completion. The following types occur in the corpus:

1) Falling to {.}: {ˋˋ.} (i.e., completion + completion) = affirmation:

2-   3́-   -1
ʔə́cmə máławə (= ʔə́cmə máławəˋˋ.)   'I'm going home.'

If this sentence contains an interrogative (see 3.453) it is a question:

2-   3́-1
náwi cíyə   'What is his name?'

2) Falling to {,}: {ˋ,} (completion + lack of completion) = question:

2- 3́--2 to məƫašxóri	'Are you employed?' (/məƫašxór/ = 'salary-eater')

If this utterance contains an interrogative, then it is a double question – that is, it may be

a) a repeated question asking for clarification of a previous utterance, as

2- 3́--2 naw cíbu	'What was the name?' ('What did you say the name was?')

b) a question expressing surprise or incredulity, as

2- 3́-2 naw cíə	'What is your name?' (Surely not that!)

The meanings given under a) and b) obtain in utterance-final position; in utterance-medial position this contour means lack of completion, as

3́--2 3̄- -2 cóni cáki škʉr	'How are you – well, I hope?'
3́--2 3́--1 bále wábu	'Yes, it was like that.'

The more usual contour for expressing lack of completion in utterance-medial position is {ˊ,} (see (b) 1) below); the use of {ˋ,} here for lack of completion implies a greater division between the two segments of the utterance than does {ˊ,}.

(b) Rising contours have the meaning of lack of completion.

1) Rising to {,}: {ˊ,} (lack of completion + lack of completion) = emphatic question:

2- 2́- -3 be gáłta	'No kidding?'

This contour is regularly used on monosyllabic words to denote question, as

2́-3 wá	'Like this?'

If the monosyllable is an interrogative, this is a repeated question (see 2) a) above):

2́-3 cón	'How (did you say it was)?'

The use of this contour on non-interrogative words with stress on the final syllable, as in the case of /wá/ immediately above, is complementary with the use of {ˋ,} ((a) 2) above) also meaning question but occurring in utterances where the final syllable is not stressed as in

2́-3   3́- -2
wá 'Like this?' compared with wábu 'Was it like this?'

In utterance-medial position a rising intonation means lack of completion:

2́- -3 3́-1
náwiṭ cíyə 'What is your name?'

2) Rising to {,}: {,́} may embrace not only the contour /2́- -3/ but also the contour /1́- -2/; this contour also combines lack of completion with lack of completion but the fact that it begins from {.} gives it an affirmative element as well. This contour is restricted to that situation wherein the speaker wishes to affirm that he is attentive to the conversation, and wishes the other person to continue—rather, complete his say:

1́- -2 1́- -2
bə́le bə́le 'Yes, yes...' (Go on – I'm listening)

3) Rising to {,}: {.̋} (lack of completion + lack of completion); this is a two-level rise from /1́/ to /-3/; the additional level adds the element of emphasis, making this an incredulous question:[1]

1́- -3
txwá 'Indeed?!'

(c) Level contours denote intensity. Compare

3́- -1
dá nišə 'Sit down!' and

2́- -2
dá nišə 'Sit down (I say)!'

This level contour may potentially occur at any pitch morpheme level.

(3) Combinations of contours. In a series of utterances there will of course be found instances of more than one contour within a single utterance; each contour will contribute to the overall meaning of the utterance. For example, in the following illustration, the first contour, which is level, intensifies the injunction and the second one (lack of completion) leaves unsaid, as it were, what may well happen to the person addressed if he does not obey; the sum effect of these two contours is to produce a threat:

3́- -3 3́- -2
mə́kə tówə 'Don't do that, you!' (mə́kə = 'don't do!')

2.233. Summary. Kurdish intonation can be described in terms of at least three pitch phonemes, three simple pitch morphemes, and three basic pitch morpheme contours, the latter structuring into an undetermined number of combinations of contours. Also significant are position in the utterance (medial as opposed to final) and the number of levels involved in rising and falling contours (one-level change as opposed to a two-level change).

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[1] These last two rising contours would imply a contrast between pitch allomorphs /3/ and /2/ of the morpheme {,} which would necessitate a different analysis from the one presented here. It seems preferable to interpret the difference in number of levels involved in the two rising contours as the significant element rather than the different pitch allomorphs.

2.3. Morphophonemics.

When vowels come into contact with vowels and consonants come into contact with consonants as the result of morphological processes, certain regular and predictable modifications of the phonemes involved take place. These morphophonemic changes are discussed first for vowels and then for consonants. It should be pointed out here that the transcription used outside of this section is regularly phonemic only and not morphophonemic. The immediate utility of this section is to clarify what might otherwise seem irregular changes in the phonemic writings. Thus, the morpheme {y} '3rd sing.' has the allomorph /i/ after consonants, as in /náwi/ 'his name', and the allomorph /y/ after a vowel, as in /bráy/ 'his brother'. Such morphemic alternations are indicated by the distributional formula Ci / Vy, which means that the allomorph /i/ is found after any consonant and the allomorph /y/ is found after any vowel. The style of speech described herein is normal informal (N); processes which are characteristic of deliberate style (D) or rapid style (R) are so marked.

2.31. Vowels

The morphophonemics of vowels must take into consideration stress and height, in which

high vowels are	i		u
mid vowels are	e	ə	o
low vowels are		a	

No instances have been noted in which the vowels /ɨ ʉ/ occur contiguous to other vowels, even as the result of a morphological process. /ị/ occurs contiguous to other vowels only as the result of the dropping of dental stops (2.323); when this takes place the regular morphophonemic processes described below do not obtain. Since /ị/ is unique in its behavior, it is described separately in 2.312.

2.311. Vocalic Processes. The vowels in the chart in 2.31 do occur contiguous to other vowels, but not as the result of morphological processes, as /šaí/ 'ceremony', /boinbáx/ 'necktie'. In general, when two vowels are juxtaposed, unstressed high vowels alternate with their semiconsonant counterparts and non-high vowels are separated by /y/. These processes are presented in relation to height of vowel and stress.

(1) Both vowels of the same height:

(a) High: the unstressed vowel alternates with its corresponding semiconsonant

ú + i > úy; ʔənú- + -it > ʔənúyt 'you sleep'
u + í > wí; ʔədru- + ítəwə > ʔədrwítəwə 'you reap'
í + u
i + ú } no occurrence noted
i + i > i; di- 'saw' + -i '3rd sing.' > dí 'he saw'

(b) Mid: V + V > VyV
ə + ə > əyə; əsterə́ 'star' + -ə 'is' > əsterə́yə 'It is a star.'
o + ə > oyə; dró 'lie' + -ə 'is' > dróyə 'It's a lie.'
e + ə: (1) eyə: xwé 'salt' + -ə > xwéyə 'It's salt.'
(2) eə : xwé + əwə > xwéəwə in the phrase
bə xwéəwə 'with salt'
It is not predictable whether (1) or (2) will obtain for a given suffix.
(c) Low: a + a > aya; cịrá 'light' + -án (plural) cịrayán 'lights'

(2) Vowels of different heights:
(a) High unstressed + mid or low: the high vowel is replaced by the corresponding semiconsonant.
mid + high: ʔə + i + -kə́- + -it > ʔəykə́yt 'you make it.'
ʔəxó- + -in > ʔəxóyn 'we eat'
pe- + -i > péy 'to him'
high + low: kaní 'spring' + -án > kanyán (for *kanián) 'springs'
low + high: brá 'brother' + -i > bráy 'his brother'
(b) High stressed + mid or low: V + V > VyV, as
i + ə > iyə: ni- 'not' + -ə 'is' > níya 'is not'
u + ə > uwə: zu 'early' + -ə > zúwə 'is early' (contrast
zu + -i '3rd sing.' + -ə > zúyə 'it is early for him')
(c) Mid + Low: In general, V + V > VyV, as
e + a > eya; hərmé 'pear' + -án > hərmeyán 'pears'
o + a > oya; həłó 'eagle' + -án > həłoyán 'eagles'
However, ə + a > a, as ktebəkə́ 'the book' + -án > ktebəkán 'the books';
and the present stem vowel o + -át '3rd sing.' > -wát, as
ʔəxo- 'eat' + -at > ʔəxwát 'he eats'
(d) Low + Mid: a + ə > ayə; əm...ə́ 'this' + lá 'side' əmlayə́ 'this side'

2.312. The vowel /ị/ is syncopated under certain conditions and is assimilated to /i/ under other conditions. The processes described here do not obtain when /ị/ comes into contact with another vowel as the result of the dropping of a dental (see 2.323).

(1) Syncopation
(a) /ị/ is always syncopated when it occurs adjacent to another vowel:
bị- + -i- + -xo > *bịixo > bixó 'Eat it!' (bịxó = 'Eat!')
ʔənú- 'sleep' + -ịm '1st sing.' > ʔənúm 'I sleep'
(b) /ị/ is usually syncopated in normal style when it is unstressed and is followed by a single consonant and a vowel, provided that the resultant consonant cluster is a permissible one (as defined in 2.131). That is, CịCV ~ CCV

žịn 'woman' + -án > (D) žịnán ~ (N) žnán 'women'
báwkịt 'your father' + -ịm di > báwktịm di 'I saw your father'
ʔə́cịm 'I go' + -ə 'to' > ʔə́cmə 'I go to'

However, a stressed /ị/ is not syncopated, as
hi 'the one of' + mịn 'I' + -ə > hi mị́nə 'It's mine.'
This syncopation does not occur in deliberate style.

(2) Assimilation: /ị/ is assimilated to /i/ before /y/: ị + y > iy;
bị- + -yan 'them' + -xo > biyanxó 'Eat them!'

2.313. Elision. Monosyllabic words in -ə, as bə́ 'to,' lə́ 'in, from,' elide their vowel before words beginning in a vowel, as
bə + əw 'him' > bə́w 'to him'
lə + əwé 'there' > ləwé 'there, in that place'
lə + érə 'here' > lérə 'here, in this place'

The transcription in this analysis, being phonemic rather than morphophonemic, shows the elision of vowels just described.

2.314. Summary. When two vowels are juxtaposed as the result of a morphological process, the following changes occur: typically, the two vowels are separated by /y/. Unstressed high vowels, however, alternate with the corresponding front or back semiconsonant, while stressed high vowels show no such alternation. /ị/ is unique in its behavior, usually being lost when it comes in contact with another vowel or syncopated when followed by a single consonant and a vowel.

2.32. Consonants

Consonants may undergo assimilation, may occur intrusively, or may be lost completely, depending on position in the utterance.

2.321. Assimilation. Stops (except uvular and glottal) and sibilants undergo partial regressive assimilation as to voicing in any position in the utterance.

(1) Utterance-initial: (D) bịcúk ~ *bcúk > (N) pcúk 'little' (b ~ p)

(2) Utterance-medial: (D) ci bịkə́m ~ (N) ci pkə́m 'What shall I do?' (b ~ p)
xóš 'nice' + -bu 'was' > xóžbu 'It was nice' (š ~ ž)
paš 'after' + niwəřó 'noon' > paž niwəřó 'after noon' (š ~ ž)

(3) Utterance-final: sígịm ʔəcé 'I have diarrhoea' (lit., 'my stomach goes'), but sị́k 'stomach' (k ~ g)

In rapid style, voiced dental stop /d/ undergoes complete progressive assimilation after the nasals /m/ and /n/, as

(N) lém dayt ~ (R) lém mayt 'I hit you'
(N) qəłəmdán ~ (R) qəłəmmán 'pencil box'
(N) řəsməkə́y pišán da ~ (R) na 'He showed the picture'

2.322. Excrescence. The cluster /nř/ fluctuates freely with the cluster /ndř/, which is the more usual pronunciation in normal style.

(D) cenřáw ~ (N) cendřáw 'sown'
(D) dřenřáw ~ (N) dřendřáw 'torn'

2.323. Loss of Consonant. /h/ and the dental stops /t/ and /d/ are lost under certain conditions of normal (or rapid) style, although retained in deliberate style, as follows:

(1) /h/ may be lost in utterance-medial position before a vowel:

(D) řožhəłát ~ (N) řožəłát 'sunrise; east'
(N) nə́hat ~ (R) nát 'he didn't come'
(D) bịhénə ~ (N) bénə 'bring!'

(2) In informal conversational style, dental stops /t/ and /d/ are dropped in certain environments, as follows:

(a) /t/ may be dropped only in word-final position after vowels.

(N) də́stịt ~ (R) də́stị 'your hand'
(D) ˀəcét ~ (N) ˀəcé 'he goes'

(b) /d/ may be dropped in several environments, with various results:

1) When intervocalic and contiguous to /ị/, /d/ is dropped without other changes:

(N) qadị́r ~ (R) qaị́r 'Qadir'(proper name)
(N) nadị́r ~ (R) naị́r 'Nadir'(proper name)

2) When intervocalic and not contiguous to /ị/, or when utterance-final and not following /n/, /d/ is dropped and /ị/ occurs; this /ị/ is a high back unrounded vowel:

(N) ˀədə́m ~ (N) ˀəịə́m 'I give'
(N) bə́d ~ (R) bə́ị 'bad'

3) When /d/ is in the cluster /nd/:

a) If that cluster is word-final or word-medial, the cluster alternates with velar nasal /ŋ/:

pə́nd ~ pə́ŋ 'pun, trick'
cə́ndịt ˀəwé ~ cə́ŋịt ˀəwé 'How much do you want?'
mandú ~ maŋú 'tired'

b) If that cluster is in word-medial position the /d/ may be dropped without other change:[1]

cə́ndịt ˀəwə́ ~ cə́nịt ˀəwə́	'How much do you want?'
bəndəxwə́n ~ bənəxwə́n	'belt-cord'
əfəndí ~ əfəní	'gentleman'

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[1] There seems to be a connection between the following facts: (1) that the vowel /ị/ which alternates with /d/ is a high back (or velar) vowel and (2) that, on the dropping of /d/ from the cluster /nd/, the /n/ may alternate with velar nasal /ŋ/. Indeed alternation between a consonant and a vowel as in (b) 2) above is unusual in itself. These interesting phenomena are worthy of further research.

CHAPTER III

MORPHOLOGY: FORM CLASSES AND THEIR INFLECTION

3.0. Introductory[1]

In this analysis, morphology is defined as the structure of the word (see (1) below) and syntax is defined as the structure of the sentence (see 5.0). Inflections provide formal criteria for setting up form classes, although syntactic criteria are adduced at times as secondary considerations. Accordingly, Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to morphology, Chapter 3 presenting the form classes and their inflections and Chapter 4 presenting word formation. These two deal with the word, while Chapter 5, Syntax, deals with utterances of more than one word.

(1) The Morpheme. The morpheme is a phonemically defined segment of speech or set of segments of speech with a constant range of meaning. A morpheme which can be preceded and followed by silence on the part of the speaker is a free morpheme (or word), as /pyáw/ 'man'; a morpheme which cannot so occur is a bound morpheme, as the /-etí/ in /pyawetí/ 'humanity'. Thus, a word can consist of a single free morpheme, as /cwár/ 'four', /də́/ 'ten'; it can be a compound of two or more free morphemes, as /cwardə́/ 'fourteen'; it can be a morpheme complex of free and bound morphemes, as /náwịm/ 'my name' (/náw/ 'name' and /-ịm/ '1st sing.'); or, finally, it can be a compound or a complex plus a bound morpheme, as /dịłxóšịm/ 'I am happy' (/dịł/ 'heart' and /xoš/ 'pleasant'). A stem is that form of a word bare of affixes: the stem of /náwịm/ is /náw/ and of /léyan/, /lé/. Hyphenated forms are bound forms: a form preceded by a hyphen is a suffix, a

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[1] The following symbols are used in this description: the vertical bar | separates allomorphs of a single morpheme which are in complementary distribution; thus, their occurrence is predictable. For example, /Cịm|Vm/ means that the suffix allomorph /-ịm/ occurs after any consonant and the suffix /-m/ occurs after any vowel.

The symbol ~ means "varies with" and separates items which are not predictable in their occurrence; thus, /həmú ~ ħəmú/ 'each, every' means that either form may occur in a given context. As far as possible the more frequent form is given first.

The hyphen - identifies a bound morpheme; it never has reference to juncture.

The colon : occurring between items without intervening spaces separates the two stems of a verb, as /xward-:xo-/, the past stem and the present stem respectively of the verb 'to eat'.

Suspension points ... separate the constituent parts of a discontinuous morpheme, as

lə...-da + zịstán 'winter' > lə́ zịstánda 'in winter'.

form preceded and followed by a hyphen is an infixed form, and a form followed by a hyphen is a prefix. No words consist solely of bound forms; every word is based on a free morpheme.

(2) Form Classes. Common features of form permit a grouping of words into five parts of speech or form classes. Each form class has specific characteristic formal features which define it, all of which are borne by every member of that class. Within classes there may be subclasses, also based on formal features. Thus, nouns are words which take definition and number suffixes (but not comparative suffixes, as can adjectives). A subclass of nouns is composed of those nouns which can take the vocative suffix /-ə/. The five form classes are nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, and particles.

(3) Pronominal Suffixes. Bound forms can be grouped also into affix classes, according to the form class to which they convert. That is to say, a nominal suffix is a bound form which might be appended to any of certain form classes, but the resultant form is always a noun. Affix classes are presented in Chapter 4.

There is, however, a set of suffixes, the pronominal suffixes, which may occur with any form class and which do not convert the stem word to a different form class. Their basic meaning remains constant, but the resultant forms acquire various additional meanings according to the form class of the stem word and sometimes according to the position of the pronominal suffix in the word (that is, whether they are infixed or suffixed). Consequently, since any word may receive a pronominal suffix when preceded and followed by silence, the pronominal suffixes are presented at this point so that the special meanings obtaining with the various form classes can be indicated as that form class is discussed.

The pronominal suffixes express both person and number; they are listed as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1st per	Cim|Vm	-man
2nd per	Ci(t)|Vt	-tan
3rd per	Ci|Vy	-yan

They are composed of the elements /m/ (1st person), /t/ (2nd person), /y/ (3rd person), and /-án/ (plural). Parenthesis in the 2nd person singular signifies that this /t/ may or may not be pronounced. The special meanings obtaining through affixation are given under the respective form classes. In honorific style, /-tan/ and /-yan/ may be used with singular referent (see 1.4).

(4) The Form Classes. The form classes are presented in the following order: nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, and particles.

Under each heading is given the following information in addition to a definition of the form class in terms of its distinctive formal features: (1) description of each of the distinctive features; (2) subclasses, if any; (3) patterning and meaning of the pronominal suffixes for this form class; and (4) a structural diagram.

The distinctive features which every word of a given form class must invariably show constitute its inflection. Thus, the pronominal suffixes are inflectional forms when added to preterite stems of verbs – a feature which every transitive verb must show in the preterite tense when the verb alone constitutes the entire utterance. The features found under (3) above, however, are in each case optional and as such are not part of the inflection of the word. Pronominal suffixes, when infixed before the stems of verbs in the present tense, accordingly, are not inflectional forms, since verbs in this tense may or may not occur with this feature (direct object of verb).

3.1. The Noun

The noun is a word which may be inflected for (1) definition and (2) number. There are two subclasses of nouns, those which can receive the locative suffix /-e/, and those which can receive the vocative suffix /Cə|Vwə/. There is a special class of verbal nouns or infinitives which does not show these inflections; they are subsumed under nouns because their distribution patterns that of nouns. For the formation of infinitives, see 4.314.

3.11. Noun Inflection[1]

3.111. Definition. The noun shows inflections for definition or lack of definition.

(1) The usual definite suffix is /Cəkə́|Vkə́/ affixed directly to the noun stem; it precedes all other suffixes in order of suffixation. This suffix has the alternate forms /Cək-|Vk-/ before the plural suffix. Rarely, and in a more formal style, the definite article suffix /-ə́/ may occur. The definite article suffixes indicate that the referent of the noun is a specific one to which reference has already been made or to which specific reference is now being made.

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[1] Wahby says in his Destur i Zman i Kurdi, section 114, page 35, that nouns have gender also, corresponding to the sex of the referent. For formal criteria, he reports that sometimes the definite article suffix is /-ə/ on masculine nouns and /-e/ on feminine nouns instead of the usual /-əkə́/; these, however, are "used very little." He further states that /-e/ sometimes occurs on feminine nouns in place of the regular vocative suffix /Cə|Vwə/. Hadank and Mackenzie also refer to gender in Northern Kurdish.

kị́c	'girl'	:	kịcəkə́	'the girl'
cịrá	'light'	:	cịrakə́	'the light'
ktébịt	'your book'	:	ktebəkə́t	'your book'
= a book of yours			= that book of yours	
kə́r	'donkey'	:	(D) kərə́	'the donkey'

(2) The indefinite suffix is (D)(N) /Cek|Vyek/, (N) /Ce|Vye/; for a morphophonemic statement of the alternation see 2.311. Like the definite suffix, this suffix precedes all others in order of suffixation. It signifies that the referent is singular and that the referent is not a specific one.

pyáw	'man'	:	pyáwek ~ pyáwe	'a man'
hərmé	'pear'	:	hərméyek	'a pear'

3.112. Number. Nouns show two numbers, singular and plural. In form, the bare noun stem is singular; the plural is formed for the great majority of nouns by the suffixation of /Cán|Vyán/, where V = /a/ or /e/.

žịn	:	žnán	'women'
kaní	:	kanyán	'springs'
bərú	:	bərwán	'oak trees'
cịrá	:	cịrayán	'lights'
təxtə́	:	təxtán	'boards'
hərmé	:	hərmeyán	'pears'

The following words form their plural in /-hát~wát~át/:

dé	:	dehát	'villages'
səwzə́	:	səwzəwát	'greens'
báǧ	:	baǧát	'gardens'

The following noun shows reduplication plus addition of extra element:

gá	:	gagáł	'oxen'

The plural suffix is second in order of suffixation; that is, it follows the suffix of definition, if any (note: before /-án/ the suffix of definition is /Cək-|Vk-/).

máł	'house'	:	małán	'houses'
małəkə́	'the house'	:	małəkán	'the houses'

The uninflected singular noun may be used in a generic sense, as

pšilə́ góšt ʔəxwá 'Cats eat meat.'

3.12. Noun Subclasses

3.121. Locative. The locative suffix /-é/ appears on the following words with the meaning of 'in' or 'at':

šə́w	'night'	:	šəwé	'in the night, last night'
šár	'city'	:	šaré	'in the city'

3.122. Vocative. Singular nouns may receive the vocative suffix /Cə|Vwə/ for single referent and /-inə/ for plural referent, indicating direct address.

kúř	'boy'	:	kúřə	'hey, boy!'
kór	'donkey'	:	kórə	'you ass!'
héro	(girl's name)	:	hérowə	'Hero!'
xólk	'people'	:	xólkinə	'People!'

3.13. Noun with Pronominal Suffixes

The pronominal suffix added to nouns has the meaning of possessor.

náw	'name'	brá	'brother'
náwịm	'my name'	brám	'my brother'
náwịt	'your name'	brát	'your brother'
náwi	'his name'	bráy	'his brother'
náwman	'our name'	bráman	'our brother'
náwtan	'your name'	brátan	'your brother'
náwyan	'their name'	bráyan	'their brother'

Pronominal suffixes added to the infinitive (or verbal noun) mean either (1) actor or (2) goal of action, as

(1) actor:

paš hatịnịm bó érə	'after my coming here'

(2) goal:

miwánek hát bó binínịm	'A guest came to see me.'

3.14. Noun Diagram

All possible noun-word structures (except for infinitives) are included in the following diagram:

<table>
<tr><th>stem</th><th>definition</th><th>plural</th><th>pron.suffix</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">máł</td><td>-əkó</td><td>-án</td><td>-ịm</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">-ek</td><td>(-ịm)</td></tr>
</table>

Thus, every noun is based on a stem, as /máł/ 'house'. It may include as well any combination of affixes which are on the same horizontal level and always in the same relative relationship to the stem. Thus, definition always precedes any other suffix, plural always precedes the pronominal suffix, if any, etc. The possible word types are accordingly, /máł małəkó małəkán małəkánịm małəkóm małán małánịm małịm máłek/. For /máłekịm/ see 5.41.

3.2. The Adjective

Adjectives share some of the features characteristic of nouns, and in addition possess a feature peculiar to adjectives. The former include definition and number; the form and function are the same as for nouns. The special adjective feature is comparison. The participle is a special form of adjective derived from verbs; this derivation is described in 3.414 (6).

3.21. Adjective Inflection

3.211. Definition.

There are two article suffixes, the definite /Cəkə́|Vkə́/ and the indefinite /Cek|Vyek/.

cák	'good'	:	cakəkə́	'the good one'
			cákek	'a good one'

3.212. Number.

The plural suffix /-án/ is attached to the adjective to signify that more than one item of the quality or state named by the adjective is indicated (/əkə́/ has the alternate form /ək-/ before the plural suffix):

cakán	'good ones'	:	cakəkə́	'the good one'
			cakəkán	'the good ones'

3.213. Comparison.

Degrees of comparison are two: comparative and superlative.

(1) Comparative. The comparative is formed by suffixing /-tị́r/ to the adjective stem. It signifies a greater degree of the quality named than one or more other items.

báš	'good'	:	baštị́r	'better'
gəwrə́	'big'	:	gəwrətị́r	'bigger'

(2) Superlative. The superlative degree is formed by suffixing /-trín/ (that is, the allomorph /-tr-/ of the comparative plus /-ín/) to the adjective stem. It signifies the greatest degree of the quality named by the adjective.

báš	'good'	:	baštrín	'best'
gəwrə́	'big'	:	gəwrətrín	'biggest'

3.22. Adjective plus Pronominal Suffix

The pronominal suffix when appended to this adjective may mean (1) possessor or (2) item of reference.

(1) Possessor: cakəkánịm 'my good ones'

(2) Person or object to which item is oriented:
zúyə 'It is early for him' (zu 'early + y '3rd sing.' + -ə 'is').
Compare zúwə 'It's early'
bə́stə 'it's enough for you' (bə́s 'enough' + t '2nd sing.' + -ə 'is').

3.23. Adjective Diagram

The following diagram shows the possible word structures for adjectives:

stem	definition	plural	pron. suffix	comparison
cə́k	-əkə́	-ə́n	-ịm	
	-ek			
				-tịr
				-trín

3.3. The Pronoun

Pronouns show distinction of person and number. Syntactically, they differ from nouns in that nouns occur in agreement with verbs only in the third person, whereas pronouns occur in agreement with verbs in the first and second persons as well.

3.31. Pronoun Inflection

3.311. Person. Pronouns show first, second, and third persons. These forms are all suppletive, and are listed below.

3.312. Number. Pronouns show two numbers, singular and plural. The plurals in the first and second persons are suppletive; only in the third person is the plural derived from the singular by the suffixation of /-ə́n/ (compare the plurals of nouns and adjectives). The pronouns are:

	Singular		Plural	
1st person	mị́n	'I, me'	ə́mə	'we, us'
2nd person	tó	'you'	ə́wə	'you'
3rd person	ə́w	'he, him, she, her, it'	əwə́n	'they, them'

3.32. Pronoun Subclasses

3.321. Vocative. Second person pronouns may receive the vocative suffix /Cə|Vwə/, which gives the pronoun added force in direct address.

mə́kə tówə 'Don't do that, you!' (mə́kə = 'don't do!')

3.33. Pronouns with Pronominal Suffixes

Pronominal suffixes may be added to pronouns, but only within larger utterances, such as clauses. This construction is described in 5.4, Displaced Suffixes.

3.34. Pronoun Diagram

The following diagram shows the possible word structures for pronouns:

3.34

stem	vocative
to	-wə

3.4. The Verb

Verbs, when they constitute the entire utterance, must show the following categories by means of formal features: (1) person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) and number (singular or plural); (2) aspect (completive or incompletive); (3) transitivity (transitive or intransitive); (4) tense (present, preterite, imperfect, present perfect, past perfect); (5) mood (indicative, subjunctive, imperative); and (6) voice (active or passive). Verbs have two principal parts, with the past tenses based on the past stem and the present tense and the imperative mood based on the present stem; this is described under (4) Tenses.

3.41. Verb Inflection

3.411. Person and Number. Person and number are indicated by means of suffixation in all tenses except the imperfect, where infixation obtains. Two sets of suffixes are used, one for transitive verbs in the past tenses, and another for all other verbs.

Transitive verbs in the past tenses indicate person and number by the pronominal suffixes of 3.0 (3). Intransitive verbs in the past tenses and all verbs, both transitive and intransitive, in the present tenses indicate person and number by the Verbal Suffixes below:

	Singular	Plural
1st person	Cịm|Vm	Cin|Vyn
2nd person	Ci(t)|Vy(t)	Cịn|Vn
3rd person	-e(t)|-a(t)	Cịn|Vn

The (/t/) of the 2nd and 3rd singular is omissible: it may or may not be pronounced in usual discourse, without difference in meaning. For the /-e(t)|-a(t)/ alternation in the 3rd singular, see 3.414 (2), the Present Tense. Note that verbal suffixes are identical in the 2nd and 3rd persons in the plural, and that the first person singular of the verbal suffixes and of the pronominal suffixes also are identical.

Intransitive verbs in the past tenses (as well as suffixes for pronominal goal in the past tenses) have a zero suffix in the 3rd singular.

3.412. Aspect. Each tense characteristically includes or omits the incompletive aspect prefix /ˀə-/;[1] this prefix occurs only in the indicative mood and never occurs in any other mood. Those tenses which receive it (the present and the imperfect) signal an action of incompletive aspect; that is, the action is one that is in progress (/ʔəxóm/ 'I'm eating'), one that has not yet begun (/ʔəxóm/ 'I'll eat, I'm going to eat'), or is a customary or habitually repeated action (/həmʉ́ řožek ʔəxóm/ 'I eat every day.'). The other tenses are of completive aspect; that is, they describe a single completed action, as preterite /xwárdim/ 'I ate'.[1]

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[1] The prefix /ˀə-/ is peculiar to the dialect of Sulaimaniya itself; in all other dialects of Kurdish, even those of nearby communities, the prefix /də-/ regularly occurs, as /dəxóm/ 'I eat'.

3.413. Transitivity. All verbs can be classified on a formal basis as to their transitivity (transitive or intransitive); this distinction is manifested in (1) the person-number suffixes in the past tenses; (2) in the fact that only transitive verbs are inflected for passive voice (for which see 3.416); and (3) in the fact that only transitive verbs may show pronominal goal (for which see 3.421). In the past tenses, transitive verbs take the pronominal suffixes of 3.0 (3), and intransitive verbs take the verbal suffixes of 2.411 with a zero suffix in the 3rd singular. In the present tense this feature is neutralized, all verbs taking the verbal suffixes of 3.411.

The meaning of transitivity is a syntactic one: a transitive verb can take a direct object and an intransitive verb cannot (see 5.311).

3.414. Tense. The verb has five tenses based on two related tense stems. On the present stem is based the present tense (as well as the imperative mood); on the past stem are based the preterite, the imperfect, the past participle in /-u/ on which is based in turn the present perfect tense, and the past perfect. Tense stems are described first, with a description of each tense following. The following outline gives the first person singular of the various tenses of /xward-: xo-/ 'to eat':

Present Stem:	xo- 'eat'		
	Present Tense:	ʔə-xó-m	'I eat'
	(Imperative Mood :	bị-xó	'Eat!')
Past Stem:	xward- 'ate'		
	Preterite Tense:	xwárd-ịm	'I ate'
	Imperfect Tense:	ʔə-m-xwárd	'I was eating'
	(Past Participle:	xward-ʉ́	'having eaten')
	Present Perfect:	xward-ʉ́-m-ə	'I have eaten'
	Past Perfect:	xwárd-ịbu-m	'I had eaten'

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[1] Since each tense occurs in only one aspect, an alternative analysis is to set up not two separate categories of aspect and tense but a single category of aspect-tense, as incompletive-present, completive-preterite, incompletive-imperfect, completive-present perfect, and completive-past perfect.

3.414

(1) Verb Stems.[1] Verb stems are divided primarily into two types: vowel stems (those ending in a vowel) and consonant stems (those ending in a consonant). This division permits generalizations describing the alternations between past and present forms. Numbers in parentheses indicate the total number of items recorded for a given pattern when that number is small.

(a) Past Stems in Vowels:

	Past		Present	
1.	-i ~ ∅			
	bəxší-	:	bəxš-	'to present, give'
	šəlí-	:	šəl-	'to be lame'
	biní- ~ dí-	:	bin-	'to see'
	gəzí-	:	gəz-	'to bite'
	zaní-	:	zan-	'to know'
	dịzí-	:	dịz-	'to steal'
	nusí-	:	nus-	'to write'
	topí-	:	top-	'to die' (animals)
	krí-	:	dr-	'to buy'
2a.	-a ~ ∅			
	wəstá-	:	wəst-	'to stand'
	tịrsá	:	tịrs-	'to fear'
	héná-	:	hen-	'to bring'
	žiá-	:	ži-|ž-	'to live'
	sa-	:	s-	'to wake up'
b.	-a ~ -e			
	gəřá-	:	gəře-|gəř-	'to walk'
	gerá-	:	gere-|ger-	'to relate'
	bra-	:	bre-|br-	'to stop'
	na-	:	ne-|n-	'to put'
	ʔawsá-	:	ʔawsé-|ʔaws-	'to swell up'
c.	-a ~ -en (2 items)			
	ška-	:	šken-	'to break'
	ma-	:	men-	'to remain'
d.	-a ~ -ə (1 item)			
	da-	:	də-|d-	'to give'

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[1] Verbs are listed by their two stems separated by a colon, with the past stem given first. If there is a vertical bar between two alternate present stems, the form to the right of the bar is the stem for the third singular only, and the stem to the left of the bar is for the other forms of the present tense.

3a. -u ~ -u (3 items)

fərmú-	:	fə́rmu-	'to honor' (polite)
drú-	:	dru-|drw-	'to sew'
jú-	:	ju-|jw-	'to chew'

b. -u ~ ∅ (2 items)

cú-	:	c-	'to go'
bu-	:	b-	'to become'

4. Irregular stems (2 items)

hə́...bu	:	hə́...Cə|Vyə|yeti	'to have'
-bu-	:	Cịm|Vm; hə-; b-	'to be'

The verb for 'to have' is inflected for person and number by infixing the pronominal suffixes of 3.0, as /hə́mbu/ 'I had'; /hə́mə/ 'I have'; 3rd sing. is /hə́yeti/ 'he has'. See 5.4 for object of this verb.

The verb for 'to be' will be referred to as the copula. It is a suffixed form in past tenses and suffixed or free in present; suffixed forms draw the stress to the previous syllable.

Past tenses: /-bu-/ takes verbal suffixes (with 3rd sing. zero),as

gə́njbum	'I was young'
trumpélbu	'It was an automobile.'

Present tense: the suffixed forms have present meaning; inflected by verbal suffixes of 3.411 except for 3rd sing.:

Cịm|Vm	Cin|Vyn
Ci(t)|Vy(t)	Cịn|Vn
Cə|yeti|Vyə|úwə	Cịn|Vn

In the 3rd sing., the suffix is /-ə/ after all consonants except the morpheme /y/ '3rd sing. possessor', where the suffix is /-eti/; the suffix is /-yə/ after all vowels except /ú/, where the suffix is /-wə/.

sərbázịm	'I am a soldier.'	
tó kéyt	'Who are you?'	(ké = 'who?')
bášə	'It's good.'	
žị́nyeti	'She is his wife.'	(-y- = 'his')
dróỵə	'It's a lie.'	(dro = 'lie')
zúwə	'It's early.'	(zu = 'early')

Present stem /hə-/ takes verbal suffixes, with /-yə/ in the 3rd sing.; means 'be, exist':

éməš hə́yn 'We also are (exist)' (-š = 'also')

/b-/ takes verbal suffixes, has future meaning:

sałek-i-tị́r lə́ bəğá ʔəbị́m 'Next year I'll be in Baghdad.'

Summary for vowel stems: the great majority of verb stems in vowels end in /i/ or /a/, with a few in /u/ or /ə/. In general, the /i/

and /a/ of past stems alternate with zero in the present stem, and the vowels /u/ and /ə/ occur on both past and present stems of the verb.

(b) Past Stems in Consonants: with the exception of the verb /kužán...əwə:kužén...əwə/ 'to extinguish', all past stems show the past tenses morphemes /d/ or /t/. The voiced dental stop /d/ regularly occurs only after voiced consonants; voiceless /t/ occurs elsewhere, but in one case occurs after the voiced flap /r/: /gịrt-:gr-/ 'to take'. The past tense morphemes generally alternate with zero in the presen stem. This alternation between dental stop and zero is sometimes accompanied by a vocalic alternation, most often one between /a/ in the past stems and /e/ in the present stems.

Past stems ending in one consonant are presented first, followed by those in two consonants and then by those in three consonants. The symbol C stands for any consonant; D, for /d/ or /t/; S for /s/ or /š/; Z, for /z/ or /ž/; and t, for /t/. The alternate present stem to the right of the vertical bar occurs only in the 3rd person singular. Thus, /šo-|šw-/= /šo/ in /ˀəšóm/ 'I wash' and /šw/ in /ˀəšwát/ 'he washes'. Numbers in parentheses indicate the total number of items recorded for a given pattern when that pattern is small.

Past : Present

1. Stems in one consonant
   a. -an ~ -en (1)
      kužán...əwə : kužén...əwə 'to extinguish'
   b. Past stem in /-t/: Suppletion (2)
      hat-:ye-|y- 'to come'
      wut-:łe-|ł- 'to say'

2. Stems in two consonants
   a. CD ~ C (Major pattern)
      1) Without accompanying vocalic alternation

end	~ en	:	xwend-:xwen-	'to read'	(1)
ənd	~ ən	:	kənd-:kən-	'to take off'	(1)
est	~ es	:	řest-:řes-	'to spin'	(1)
əwt	~ əw	:	kəwt-:kəw-	'to fall'	(1)
ošt	~ oš	:	frošt-:froš-	'to sell'	(1)
urd	~ ur	:	burd-:bur-	'to forgive'	(1)

      2) With accompanying vocalic alternation

and	~ en	:	cand-:cen-	'to sow'	(4)
ard	~ er	:	nard-:ner-	'to send'	(3)
awt	~ ew	:	paławt-:pałew-	'to filter'	(3)
ənd	~ en	:	sənd-:sen-	'to take'	(1)
ɨšt	~ iš	:	nɨšt-:niš-	'to sit'	(1)
ịrd	~ r	:	mịrd-:mr-	'to die'	(1)
ịrt	~ r	:	gịrt-:gr	'to take, grasp'	(1)

b. CD ~ ∅ (entire cluster alternates with zero)

1) With accompanying vocalic alternation

ard ~ o : xward-:xo-|xw- 'to eat' (1)
ịrd ~ ə : kịrd-:kə-|k- 'to do, make' (1)
ist ~ yə : bist-:byə-|by- 'to hear' (1)
ịst ~ ə : xịst-:xə-|x- 'to pull' (1)
ʉst ~ u : nʉst-:nu-|nw- 'to sleep' (1)
ʉšt ~ o : šʉšt-:šo-|šw- 'to wash' (1)

c. St ~ St

1) Without accompanying vocalic alternation

əst ~ əst : pəst-:pəst- 'to press' (2)

d. St ~ Z (voiceless sibilant and dental stop alternate with voiced sibilant)

1) With vocalic alternation

ʉšt ~ už : kʉšt-:kuž- 'to kill' (1)
ast ~ ez : parast-:parez- 'to protect' (?)
ịšt ~ ež : řịšt-:řež- 'to sprinkle' (1)
ɨšt ~ ež : hawɨšt-:hawež- 'to throw' (1)

e. St ~ l (entire cluster alternates with /l/)

1) Without vocalic alternation

est ~ el : hest-:hel- 'to permit' (1)

f. Suppletion

wist- : əwé([illegible]) 'to want' (1)

3. Stems in three consonants

a. ySt ~ ∅ (entire clus[illegible]rnates with zero)

1) Without accompan[illegible]g vocalic alternation

oyšt ~ o : řoyšt-~řo-:řo-|řw- 'to go' (1)
əyšt ~ ə : gəyšt-:gə-|g- 'to arrive' (1)

Summary for consonant stems: most consonant stems end in a dental stop; this stop may be preceded by one, two, or no consonants. In general, the dental stop alternates with zero in the present stem. If the preceding consonant is a sibilant, the entire cluster alternates with zero in the present stem in many instances. These alternations are often accompanied by vocalic alternations, the most usual being between /a/ in past stems and /e/ in present stems.

(2) The Present Tense. The present tense of the verb is formed of the incompletive aspect prefix /ˀə-/ plus the present stem plus the person-number suffix; for the latter, the verbal suffixes of 3.411 are used for all verbs except the verbs /wist-:əwé(t)/ 'to want' and /hə́...bu:hə́...Cə|Vyə|yeti/ 'to have'. The former verb is irregular in that it expresses person and number by the pronominal suffixes on both

stems, infixing them between /ʔə-/ and the stem in the present tense: /wístịm/ ‘I wanted’ and /ʔəməwé/ ‘I want’. For the latter verb, see 4 on page 55.

In this and the subsequent sections of the verb, /xward-:xo-|xw-/ ‘to eat’ and /hat-:ye-|y̤-/ ‘to come’ will illustrate transitive and intransitive verbs respectively. The present tense of these verbs follows:

xward-:xo-|xw- ‘to eat’		hat-:ye-|y- ‘to come’	
ʔəxóm	‘I eat’	yem	‘I come’
ʔəxóyt	‘you eat’	yeyt	‘you come’
ʔəxwát	‘he eats’	yet	‘he comes’
ʔəxóyn	‘we eat’	yeyn	‘we come’
ʔəxón	‘you eat’	yen	‘you come’
ʔəxón	‘they eat’	yen	‘they come’

The verb /hat-:ye-|y-/ is irregular in the present tense in that the indicative mood does not prefix the aspect prefix /ʔə-/.

In the 3rd singular, all verbs take the suffix /-e(t)/ except those verbs whose present stems end in /-ə/ or /-o/, which take /-at/. The alternation between two present stems, as /řo-|řw-/, can be stated morphophonemically as /a + a > a/, /o + a > wa/, and /e + e > e/ (see 2.311). Thus,

zaní-:zan-	–	ʔəzánet	‘he knows’
řoyšt-:řo-	–	ʔəřwát	‘he goes’
kịrd-:kə	–	ʔəkát	‘he does’
hat-:ye-	–	yét	‘he comes’

The /t/ of the 2nd and 3rd singular is omissible: it is generally indicated in written Kurdish, but is usually omitted in speech, except that it is always pronounced when the form receives a suffix, as

kʉrdí ʔəzáni ~ kʉrdí ʔəzánit ‘Do you know Kurdish?’
ʔəcé ‘He goes.’ but ʔəcétəwə ‘He goes back.’

The present tense describes any time other than past; the action is of incompletive aspect (see 3.412). A second person plural verb may be used with singular referent to show respect.

The present tense is diagrammed as follows:

ʔə-	present stem	pers.-num. suffix

(3) The Preterite Tense. The preterite tense is formed of the past stem plus the person-number suffixes as described in 3.411: transitive verbs take the pronominal suffixes and intransitive verbs take the verbal suffixes with zero suffix in the 3rd singular. The transitive is of completive aspect, never taking the aspect prefix /ʔə-/. It names a single completed action in past time; it cannot signify a progressive or habitually repeated action. It sometimes names an action in future

time, one that is considered by the speaker to be certain to happen, as /dáŋịt cú bo əmérkə/ 'Your voice will go [lit., 'went'] to America.' The following paradigms are in the active indicative:

xwárdịm	'I ate'	hátịm	'I came'
xwárdị(t)	'you ate'	háti(t)	'you came'
xwárdi	'he ate'	hát	'he came'
xwárdman	'we ate'	hátin	'we came'
xwárdman	'you ate'	hátịn	'you came'
xwárdyan	'they ate'	hátịn	'they came'

The formation of the preterite tense is diagrammed as follows:

past stem	pers.-num. suffix

(4) The Imperfect Tense. The imperfect always takes the aspect prefix /ˀə-/ placed before the stem. It occurs only in the indicative mood, but may occur in either voice. It formally shows transitivity in two ways: the person-number suffixes are different for transitive and intransitive verbs, and the arrangement of elements is different. Transitive verbs have the pronominal suffixes inserted before the stem; intransitives take the verbal suffixes (with zero in the 3rd sing.) after the stem.

The imperfect names a past progressive action, or rarely a past habitual action. In a contrary-to-fact situation it has conditional meaning, as /ə́ginə ˀəxịnkáy/ 'otherwise you would have drowned.'

ˀəmxwárd	'I was eating'	ˀəhátịm	'I was coming'
ˀətxwárd	'you were eating'	ˀəháti(t)	'you were coming'
ˀəyxwárd	'he was eating'	ˀəhát	'he was coming'
ˀəmanxwárd	'we were eating'	ˀəhátin	'we were coming'
ˀətanxwárd	'you were eating'	ˀəhátịn	'you were coming'
ˀəyanxwárd	'they were eating'	ˀəhátịn	'they were coming'

The imperfect tense is diagrammed as follows:

Transitive verbs:

ˀə-	person number	past stem

Intransitive verbs:

ˀə-	past stem	person number

(5) The Past Participle. The past participle is an adjective derived from the past stem of the verb by the suffixation of /Cú\|Vw/; it does not receive inflection for degrees of comparison. It is of course not a tense, but has been included here because its formation is based on the past stem of the verb and because the present perfect tense is in turn based on it. The past participle can be formed from a stem which is either active or passive in voice. The examples presented here are

in the active voice; for passive forms, see 3.416.

The past participle signifies that the underlying notion of the verb has taken place, but without reference to time or subject or object. Some illustrations follow.

Past stem:		Past participle:	
xwárd-	'ate'	xwardú	'eaten, having eaten'
hát-	'came'	hatú	'having come'
ˀawsá-	'swelled up'	ˀawsáw	'swollen, pregnant'
wəstá-	'stood up'	wəstáw	'having stood, standing'
kịrd-	'did, made'	kịrdú	'having done'
kʉšt-	'killed'	kʉštú	'having killed'

The past participle is diagrammed as follows:

past stem	Cú|Vw

(6) Present Perfect Tense. The present perfect consists of the past stem plus the past participle suffix /Cú|Vw/ plus the person-number suffix; transitive verbs show also the suffix /-ə/ after the person-number suffix. The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is manifested further in the person-number suffixes, the former taking pronominal suffixes and the latter taking the verbal suffixes (with /-ə/ in the third singular). This tense shows two moods, indicative and subjunctive (3.415) and both voices (3.416).

The present perfect names not so much an action as a state or condition resulting from a completed action. The preterite names a single action completed in past time: /wəstám/ 'I stood up'; the present describes an action not yet completed: /ˀəwə́stịm/ 'I (will) stand up'; and the present perfect names a condition in present time resulting from a completed action: /wəstáwịm/ 'I am in the condition of having stood up' = 'I am standing, I am afoot'. Other examples are:

dá nistịm	'I sat down'	:	dá nistúm	'I've sat down'
núst	'he slept'	:	nustúə	'he's asleep'
hát	'he came'	:	hatúə	'he's come, he's here'
səƫát də́bu	'it was ten o'clock'	:	səƫát də́buə?	'Is it ten o'clock yet?'

Paradigms of the present perfect tense follow.

xwardúmə	'I have eaten'	hatúm	'I have come'
xwardútə	'you have eaten'	hatúyt	'you have come'
xwardúyə	'he has eaten'	hatúə	'he has come'
xwardúmanə	'we have eaten'	hatúyn	'we have come'
xwardútanə	'you have eaten'	hatún	'you have come'
xwardúyanə	'they have eaten'	hatún	'they have come'

The present perfect tense is diagrammed as follows:

Transitive verbs:

past stem	-ú-	person number	-ə

Intransitive verbs:

past stem	-ú-	person number

(7) The Past Perfect Tense. The past perfect is formed of the past stem plus the past perfect characteristic /-ịbu-/ plus the person-number suffixes. It is of completive aspect, and distinguishes between indicative and subjunctive moods (3.415) and between active and passive voice (3.416). Person and number are indicated by the pronominal suffixes on transitive verbs and by the verbal suffixes on intransitive verbs.

Like the preterite, the past perfect names a single action completed in past time, but it characteristically implies a subsequent action also in past time. Paradigms follow.

xwárdịbum	'I had eaten'	hátịbum	'I had come'
xwárdịbut	'you had eaten'	hátịbuyt	'you had come'
xwárdịbuy	'he had eaten'	hátịbu	'he had come'
xwárdịbuman	'we had eaten'	hátịbuyn	'we had come'
xwárdịbutan	'you had eaten'	hátịbun	'you had come'
xwárdịbuyan	'they had eaten'	hátịbun	'they had come'

The past perfect tense is diagrammed as follows:

past stem	-ịbu-	person number

3.415. Mood. The Kurdish verb has three moods: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. The subjunctive and imperative are identified in the positive by the prefix /bịC|bV/; in the negative the subjunctive takes only /nə́-/ and the imperative takes only /mə́-/ (see 3.422 for negation). The indicative is characterized by the aspect prefix /ˀə-/ in the present and imperfect tenses and by the absence of any of these prefixes in the preterite, present perfect, and past perfect tenses. The imperative is formed from the present stem, and the indicative and subjunctive are formed from both stems.

The moods reflect, as it were, the relationship of the action or state expressed by the verb to reality as conceived by the speaker: "real" versus "unreal". The indicative names an action conceived of by the speaker as "real": for example, a statement such as /ˀə́cịm/ 'I('ll) go'. Subjunctive names an "unreal" type of action; specifically, it may be deliberative, as /bịcím/ 'shall I go?', or factitive (indirect command), as /bịcé/ 'make him go!' The imperative expresses a direct command, as /bịcó/ 'go!' The meanings and uses are described more fully under the various moods.

(1) The Indicative Mood. Verbs in the indicative mood are identified by the aspect prefix /ʔə-/ in the present and imperfect tenses and by the absence of this prefix as well as the absence of /bịC|bV/ in the other three tenses. In the case of negative verbs, the indicative is identified by /ná-/ in the present tense and by /nə́-/ in the other tenses. The indicative occurs in all tenses; all citations of verbs so far have been, except where otherwise noted, in the indicative.

A verb in the indicative makes what the speaker offers as a statement of fact; or it may pose a question, as indicated by intonation (2.32) or the presence in the utterance of an interrogative (3.453).

A listing of the 1st singular indicative of /xward-:xo-|xw-/ 'to eat' and /hat-:ye-|y-/ 'to come' follows. The full conjugations given under the various tenses above illustrate the indicative forms of the other persons and numbers.

	xward-:xo-|xw-	hat-:ye-|y-
Present	ʔəxóm	yém
Preterite	xwárdịm	hátịm
Imperfect	ʔəxwárd	ʔəhátịm
Pres. Perf.	xwardúmə	hatúm
Past Perf.	xwárdịbum	hátịbum

(2) The Subjunctive Mood. The subjunctive is identified by the prefix /bịC|bV/ (with the special alternant /bi-/ before /y/) in positive forms and by /nə́-/ in negative forms. It is further identified by /-ayə ~ -bayə/ in the preterite and past perfect subjunctive. This mood occurs in all tenses except the imperfect, and shows distinction in voice and transitivity. The order of affixation is different for transitive and intransitive verbs in the preterite and past perfect subjunctive: for transitive verbs in both these tenses the person-number suffixes are inserted immediately before the stem, while for intransitive verbs they are inserted after the stem and before the /-ayə ~ -bayə/.

The subjunctive names, in general, an "unreal" type of action (cf. supra). It may occur either as an element in a larger utterance or alone, the verb constituting the entire utterance. In the latter case, that is, when the verb in the present subjunctive constitutes the entire utterance, it may have a deliberative or a factitive meaning (cf. supra). In the present perfect, the subjunctive expresses a theoretical possibility, as /řóyštịbet/ 'he might have gone'.

In the larger utterance, the subjunctive regularly occurs after certain conjunctions, which are listed in 3.452, or in a /kə/ clause with indefinite antecedent, as described in 5.4. In other contexts, it may indicate a wish or hope, as /bé qəzábit/ 'God protect you' (lit., 'may you be without misfortune'), or a condition contrary to fact, as in /əwbərdə́ bə́ tóyanə bịmałiyayə ʔəbúyt bə́ cwarpé/ 'If they had thrown that rock at you, you would have become a quadruped.' (/-yan bịmaḷiyayə/ = 'had they thrown', preterite subjunctive of /maḷí-:maḷ-/).

Following are the paradigms of the subjunctive in the four tenses in which it occurs, preceded in each case by a formation diagram. Note that, of the four tenses, the present and the present perfect show no formal distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. The verb /hat-:ye-|y-/ has the irregular subjunctive stem /e-/ in the present tense.

Present Subjunctive:

biC | bV	present stem	person number
bị-	xo-	-m = bịxóm 'Shall I eat?'
b-	e-	-m = bém 'Shall I come?'

bịxóm	bém
bịxóyt	béyt
bịxwát	bét
bịxóyn	béyn
bịxón	bén
bịxón	bén

Preterite Subjunctive:

Transitive Verbs

bị-	pers. num.	past stem	-ayə ~ -bayə
bị-	-m-	xward	-ayə

= 'had I eaten'

Intransitive Verbs

bị-	past stem	pers. num.	-ayə ~ -bayə
bị-	hat-	-m-	-ayə

= 'had I come'

bịmxwárdayə	bịhátmayə[1]
bịtxwárdayə	bịhátitayə
bixwárdayə[1]	bịhátayə
bịmanxwárdayə	bịhátinayə
bịtanxwárdayə	bịhátnayə
biyanxwárdayə	bịhátnayə

Present Perfect Subjunctive:

past stem	-ib-	person number

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[1] For a morphophonemic statement of the assimilation of /ị/ to /i/ and the syncope of /ị/ in these and subsequent forms, see 2.312.

xward- -ịb- -ịm = xwárdịbịm[1] 'I might have eaten'
hat- -ịb- -ịm = hátịbịm 'I might have come'

xwárdịbịm	hátịbịm
xwárdịbit	hátịbit
xwárdịbet	hátịbet
xwárdịbin	hátịbin
xwárdịbịn	hátịbịn
xwárdịbịn	hátịbịn

Past Perfect Subjunctive:

Transitive Verbs

bị-	pers. num.	past stem	-ịbu-ayə
bị-	-m-	xward	-ịbwayə

= 'I would have eaten'

Intransitive Verbs

past stem	-ịbu-	pers. num.	-ayə
hat-	-ịbu-	-m-	-ayə

= 'I would have come'

bịmxwárdịbwayə[1]	hátịbumayə
bịtxwárdịbwayə	hátịbuytayə
bixwárdịbwayə	hátịbwayə
bịmanxwárdịbwayə	hátịbuynayə
bịtanxwárdịbwayə	hátịbunayə
biyanxwárdịbwayə	hátịbunayə

The copula forms the subjunctive in the present tense on the stem /b-/, in the preterite on /bú-...ayə/, and in the past perfect on /búb-/. The subjunctive prefix /bị-/ is usually omitted, as

ə́gər ləwébịm	'if I am there'
bə́łku búbe	'he might have been'

(3) Imperative Mood. The imperative is formed on the present stem, which receives the prefix /bịC|bV/ and a suffix for number: /Cə|V∅/ for the singular and /Cịn|Vn/ for the plural. The /ị/ of /bị-/ is often omitted, as (D)/bịłé ~ (N)błe/ 'say!': see 2.312.

The imperative expresses a direct command. The illustrations are of vowel stems and of consonant stems, with plural forms given in parentheses.

xward-:xo-|xw-	'to eat'	bịxó	(bịxón)	'eat!'
fə́rmu-:fə́rmu-	'to honor'	fə́rmu	(fə́rmun)	'Please!' (polite request, usually without bị-)

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[1] The present perfect subjunctive can be alternatively analyzed as Past Stem plus /-ị-/ plus the present subjunctive of /bu-:b-/ 'to become.'

In the past perfect subjunctive too the form of intransitive verbs can be analyzed as Past Stem plus /-ị-/ plus the past indicative of /bu-:b-/ plus /-ayə/.

wʉt-:łe-|ł-	'to say'	bịłé	(bịłén)	'say!'
kịrd-:kə-|k-	'to do, make'	bịkə́	(bịkə́n)	'do!'
žia-:ži-|ž-	'to live'	bịží	(bịžín)	'(long) live!'
da-:də-|d-	'to give'	bịdə́	(bịdə́n)	'give!'
hena-:hen-	'to bring'	bịhénə	(bịhénən)	'bring!' (contracted to bénə(n): see 2.323 and 2.312)
gịrt-:gr-	'to take'	bịgrə́	(bịgrə́n)	'take!'

The following verbs have irṛegular imperative stems:

hat-:ye-|y-	'to come'	wər-	:	wə́rə	(wə́rən)	'come'
cu-:c-	'to go'	co-	:	bịcó	(bịcón)	'go!'
-bu-:Cịm;hə-;-b-	'to be'	b-	:	bịbə́	(bịbín)	'be!'

hə...bu:hə...Cə|Vyə 'to have' : hə...be:hə...bịn – in the imperative of this verb, the pronominal suffixes, here expressing person and number of the possessor, are infixed after /hə-/; the suffixed forms /-be/ and /bịn/ of this imperative form indicate that that which is possesed is 3rd singular or 3rd plural respectively, as

hə́tbe	'Have (sg) it!'
hətánbe	'Have (pl) it!'
hə́tbịn	'Have (sg) them!'
hətánbịn	'Have (pl) them!'

The prefix /bịC|bV/ is usually omitted in speech, especially before voiceless consonants, as

lá co	'Go away!'	
pří kə	'Fill it up!'	(pịř = 'full')
pyaw-i-cákbə	'Be a good man!'	(pyaw-i-cak = 'good man')

3.416. Voice. All forms cited so far are in the active voice. Transitive verbs show also a passive voice in all tenses and all moods. The passive infinitive occurs only in the written language. Passive forms are derived from the present stem of the verb: to this are affixed, in the following sequence, the passive characteristic /r/, the thematic vowel (/a/ for past tenses and /e/ for the present stem), and the verbal suffixes of 3.411. In the following diagram of passive forms, parentheses indicate features which may or may not occur, depending on the particular tense and mood:

(ˀə-) (bị-)	pres. stem	r	á é	pers. num.	(tense signs)

While only transitive verbs receive passive inflections, these inflections themselves are exclusively those that intransitive verbs regularly take. And while passive forms are regularly based on the present stem of the verb in question, the passive form itself may show a past stem (with thematic vowel /a/) or a present stem (with thematic vowel /e/). Thus:

kʉšt-:kʉž- ‘to kill’ – Passive stem: kʉžr-
Present Passive: kʉžré- – ʔəkʉžrém ‘I am killed’
Past Passive: kʉžrá- – kʉžrám ‘I was killed’

The following passive forms are irregular:

(1) passive based on past rather than present stem of verb, as

<table>
<tr><th>Verb</th><th></th><th>Passive Stem</th><th></th><th></th></tr>
<tr><td>wʉt-:łe-|ł-</td><td>‘to say’</td><td>wʉtr-</td><td>– ʔəwʉtré</td><td>‘it is said’</td></tr>
<tr><td>bist-:byə-|by-</td><td>‘to hear’</td><td>bistr-</td><td>– bistráwə</td><td>‘it has been heard’</td></tr>
<tr><td>wist-:əwé(t)</td><td>‘to want’</td><td>wistr-</td><td>– wistrá</td><td>‘it was wanted’</td></tr>
</table>

(2) the vowel of the present stem varies with zero of the passive stem, as

<table>
<tr><th></th><th></th><th></th></tr>
<tr><td>bịrd-:bə-|b-</td><td>‘to carry’</td><td>br-</td></tr>
<tr><td>kịrd-:kə-|k-</td><td>‘to do, make’</td><td>kr-</td></tr>
<tr><td>da-:də-|d-</td><td>‘to give’</td><td>dr-</td></tr>
</table>

(3) there is a vocalic alternation between the present and the passive stems, as

<table>
<tr><th></th><th></th><th></th></tr>
<tr><td>xward-:xo-|xw-</td><td>‘to eat’</td><td>xur-</td></tr>
</table>

and (4) zero vowel of the present stem varies with vowel of the passive stem, as

<table>
<tr><th></th><th></th><th></th></tr>
<tr><td>gịrt-:gr-</td><td>‘to take’</td><td>gir-</td></tr>
</table>

Voice denotes the relationship between the subject (for which see 5.21) and the action of the verb: the verb in the active voice has as the goal (or direct object of the verb, for which see 5.22) something other than the subject; a passive verb, on the other hand, is one whose subject is also the goal of its action, as

ʔəhenịm ‘I bring’ : ʔəhenrém ‘I am brought’

In some cases the passive has a potential meaning, as

ʔəkịřenřé ‘it is rubbed off’ or ‘it can be rubbed off’
twaní-:twan- ‘to be able’ : ʔətwanré ‘it is possible’

On the basis of the present passive stem in /re-/ and the past passive stem in /ra/ there can be formed all five tenses in the indicative, the present and the preterite in the subjunctive, and the imperative. These all receive the verbal suffixes of 3.411.

Following is the passive of /xward-:xo-|xw-/ ‘to eat’:

Present Tense:

Indicative		Subjunctive	
ˀəxurém	‘I am eaten, I am pestered to death’	bịxurém	‘that I be eaten’
ˀəxuréyt		bịxuréyt	
ˀəxurét		bịxurét	
ˀəxuréyn		bịxuréyn	
ˀəxurén		bịxurén	
ˀəxurén		bịxurén	

Preterite Tense:

xurám	‘I was eaten’	bịxurámayə	‘had I been eaten’
xuráyt		bịxuráytayə	
xurá		bịxuráyə	
xuráyn		bịxuráynayə	
xurán		bịxuránayə	
xurán		bịxuránayə	

Present Perfect Indicative:

xuráwịm	‘I have been eaten
xuráwit	
xuráwə	
xuráwin	
xuráwịn	
xuráwịn	

Imperfect Indicative:

ˀəxurám	‘I was being eaten’
ˀəxuráyt	
ˀəxurá	
ˀəxuráyn	
ˀəxurán	
ˀəxurán	

Past Perfect Indicative:

xurábum	‘I had been eaten’
xurábuyt	
xurábu	
xurábuyn	
xurábun	
xurábun	

Imperative:

bịxuré	‘be eaten!’ (sg)
bịxurén	‘be eaten!’ (pl)

Past Participle:

xuráw	‘having been eaten’

(Infinitive: xurán ‘to be eaten’)

3.42. Non-inflectional Processes.

Verbs constituting an entire utterance can indicate goal and negation by means of affixes. While these are not matters of inflection, they are closely related to the inflections of verbs, and are described in this section.

3.421. Pronominal Goal. Any transitive verb except /twaní-:twan-/ ‘to be able’ can indicate pronominal goal, i.e., the person and number of the direct object of the verb, in any tense and mood. The affixes expressing pronominal goal in the present tense are different from those of the other tenses: in the present tense, the pronominal suffixes of 3.0 (3) are inserted immediately before the stem. The following illustrations are based on the form /ʔənáse(t)/ 'he knows, is acquainted with', from /nasí-:nas-/ 'to know':

Indicative Mood:		Subjunctive Mood:	
ʔəmnáse	'he knows me'	bịmnáse	'let him know me'
ʔətnáse	'he knows you'	bịtnáse	'let him know you'
ʔəynáse	'he knows him'	bináse	'let him know him'
ʔəmannáse	'he knows us'	bịmannáse	'let him know us'
ʔətannáse	'he knows you'	bịtannáse	'let him know you'
ʔəyannáse	'he knows them'	biyannáse	'let him know them'

Imperative Mood:	bịmnásə	'become (sg) acquainted with me!'
	bịmnásịn	'become (pl) acquainted with me!'

All other tenses use the pronominal suffixes of 3.0 (3) for subject and the verbal suffixes of 3.411 for object, with zero suffix in the 3rd singular. The order of suffixation is different in the imperfect tense from the other tenses: in the imperfect, the subject affix immediately precedes the stem (as it does when there is no suffix for goal) and the object suffix follows the stem, as in

ʔəykʉ́št	'he was killing' :	ʔəykʉ́štim	'he was killing me'
		ʔəykʉ́štit	'he was killing you (sg)'
		ʔəykʉ́štin	'he was killing us'

ʔəmankʉ́št	'we were killing (him)'
ʔəmankʉ́štit	'we were killing you (sg)'
ʔətankʉ́štịn	'you (pl) were killing them'

In the preterite, present perfect, and past perfect tenses, the subject and object suffixes are both suffixed. In the following, all examples are from the preterite tense of /biní-:bin-/ 'to see':

(1) In general, the subject suffix precedes the object suffix:

binímit	'I saw you (sg)'	biníyanin	'they saw us'
binítịm	'you (sg) saw me'	binítin	'you (sg) saw us'
binímanịn	'we saw you (pl); we saw them'	binímanit	'we saw you (sg)'
binítanin	'you (pl) saw us'		

Exceptions are:

(2) The 3rd singular subject suffix always follows the other suffix:

biními	'he saw me'
biníti	'he saw you (sg)'

biníni[1]	'he saw us; he saw you (pl); he saw them'

(3) The 1st singular always precedes a plural suffix, regardless of which is subject and which is object:

binímtan	'you (pl) saw me'
binímyan	'they saw me'
binímịn	'I saw them'

These same rules obtain for the present perfect and past perfect tenses; a few examples are given for each of these tenses:

Present Perfect:

xwardúmə	'I have eaten'	:	xwardúmịn	'I have eaten you (pl)'[2] I have eaten them'
xwardútanə	'you (pl) have eaten'	:	xwardútanin	'you (pl) have eaten us'

Past Perfect:

xwárdịbum	'I had eaten'	:	xwárdịbumi	'he had eaten me'
			xwárdịbumit	'I had eaten you (sg)'
			xwárdịbutanin	'you (pl) had eaten us'

3.422. Negation. The negative prefixes are /ná-/, /nə́-/, /mə́-/, and /ní-/. In addition to their basic meaning of denying of the realization of the action or state denoted by the verb, these various prefixes also signal tense and mood.

In the present tense, /ná-/ is in opposition to the /ʔə-/ of the indicative mood and /nə́-/ is in opposition to the /bị-/ of the subjunctive; and in the imperative, /mə́-/ is in opposition to /bị-/. Thus:

Present Tense:

Indicative:	ʔəxóm	'I eat'	yém	'I come'
	náxom	'I do not eat'	náyem	'I do not come'
Subjunctive:	bịxóm	'shall I eat?'	bém	'shall I come?'
	nə́xom	'shall I not eat?'	nə́yem	'shall I not come?'
Imperative:	bịxó	'eat!'	wə́rə	'come!'
	mə́xo	'do not eat!'	mə́ye	'do not come!'

The negative imperative of /hat-:ye-|y-/ is irregular in that it is based on the present stem /ye-/ rather than on the imperative stem /wər-/

The prefix /ni-/ occurs only in the present tense and with two verbs: (1) the present negative of /-bu-:Cịm|Vm;hə-b-/ 'to be' is /ni-/ plus the verbal suffixes with /-ə/ in the 3rd singular, as /ním/ 'am not'; /níyə/

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[1] Through regular morphophonemic processes, /i + i > i/ (see 2.311) and /i + ị > i/ (see 2.312).

[2] That is, 'I have pestered you to death,' etc.

'is not'; and (2) the present negative of /hə́...bu:hə́...Cə|Vyə/ 'to have' is /ni-/ plus the verbal suffixes with /-yeti/ in the 3rd singular plus the suffix /-ə/ (except that /-ə/ does not occur in the 3rd singular), as /nímə/ 'I do not have', /níyeti/ 'he does not have'.

In all tenses other than the present, the negative prefix is exclusively /nə́-/. /nə́-/ is in opposition to the /bị-/ of the subjunctive, but not to /ˀə/, which it precedes. Transitive verbs in the negative in the past all take the regular pronominal suffixes immediately after the negative suffix (in the positive the person-number suffixes follow the stem); intransitive verbs in the past are of the same formation in the negative as in the positive except for the addition of the negative prefix. These formations are summarized in the following charts:

Transitive Verbs:

tense	nə́-	pers. num.	ˀə-	past stem	-ịbu-	u	-ə	illustrations 1st sing. ind.
pret.	x	x		x				nə́mxward 'I didn't eat'
impf.	x	x	x	x				nə́mˀəxward 'I wasn't eating'
pres.pf.	x	x		x		x	x	nə́mxwardwe 'I haven't eaten'
pastpf.	x	x		x	x			nə́mxwardịbu 'I hadn't eaten'

Intransitive Verbs:

tense	nə́-	ˀə-	past stem	-ịbu-	-u-	pers. num.	illustrations 1st sing. ind.
pret.	x		x			x	nə́hatịm 'I didn't come'
impf.	x	x	x			x	nə́ˀəhatịm 'I wasn't coming'
pres.pf.	x		x		x	x	nə́hatum 'I haven't come'
pastpf.	x		x	x		x	nə́hatịbum 'I hadn't come'

3.43. Summary of Verbal Features

Those verbal features for which the various tenses are inflected are summarized in Figure 2 on the following page.

form	pers.	num.	aspect		transi-tivity	mood		voice		pron. goal	negation		
			inc.	cpl.		ind.	sub.	act.	pas.		nə́	ná	mə́
pres	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
pret	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
impf	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x		
prespf	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
pastpf	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
imptv	2nd	x	x		x			x	x	x			x
past part								x	x		x	x	

Figure 2 Summary of Verbal Features

3.5. Particles

Words which do not have characteristic inflections (indeclinables) are particles. These are subdivided into interjections, conjunctions, interrogatives, numerals, prepositions, adverbs, demonstratives, and relatives. The basis for these subdivisions is distribution in the utterance – a syntactic rather than a morphological criterion. As the criteria are distributional rather than formal, the demarcation between the subdivisions of particles is not always clear-cut and unambiguous. Thus, there are instances of a single word, e.g. /dwaí/ 'after(wards)', filling the distributional patterns of both conjunction and preposition; or of a word, as /bị́n/, functioning either as a noun (= 'bottom') or as a preposition (= 'under'). Another type of intersectioning of syntactic functions involves adjectives, as /cák/ 'good', which can fill the distributional patterns of adverbs.

Not only do particles have zero features, but they are different from the other form classes also in that they constitute a limited form class whose members can be listed exhaustively, whereas the other four form classes are open, or unlimited in the number of members occurring in them. In the following sections all particles occurrring in the corpus have been listed. Although particles are never declined, they may receive displaced pronominal suffixes (see 5.4). But, even here, interjections and conjunctions never participate in this construction.

3.51. Interjections

Interjections are particles which never receive either inflections or pronominal suffixes. They are generally initial in the utterance and usually constitute the entire utterance. They are conventional verbalizations of emotions: surprise, delight, etc.

ə́y	‘ah!’ (regret)
ə́ferin ~ ə́ferim	‘bravo!’
bə́le (more formal); ə́, bə́, ə́y (less formal); ə́re, ərewə́llə (emphatic)	‘yes’
cɨryó	‘cheerio!’ (a toast)
də́, də́y	(asseverative, occurring only with verbs, as in /də́ břo/ ‘go on!’)
əmə́n	‘alas; woe’
hə́	‘aha!’ (triumph)
mə́rħəbə	‘hello’
nə́ʔ; nə́xer (emphatic)	‘no’
nóš	‘here’s to you’ (a toast)
oxə́y	‘ah!’ (delight)
txwə́ ~ tuxwə́	‘indeed!’ (surprise)
xó	‘I say!’ (accosting)
yə́lə	‘hurry up!’

3.52. Conjunctions

Conjunctions, like interjections, never receive affixes, not even pronominal suffixes. However, while interjections tend to be complete utterances in themselves, conjunctions characteristically introduce a clause, certain of them even governing the mood of the verb in the following clause. Listed below are the conjunctions occurring in the corpus with meanings and illustrative utterances. Those in the first group may be followed by verbs in either indicative or subjunctive mood, and those in the second group are followed only by verbs in the subjunctive.

(1) Conjunctions followed by eithe indicative or subjunctive:
bə́łam ‘but’:
bə́łam nə́zanịm kéyt ‘But I don’t know who you are.’
bə́łku (a) with present tense and especially with the preterite this means future possibility: ‘might’:
bəłku ɨ́mšəw barí ‘It might rain tonight’ (barí = ‘it rained’)
(b) ‘but’ (in contradiction to previous statement):
ə́mə spí níə, bə́łku řə́šə ‘This is not white, but black.’
cúŋkə ~ cúŋki ‘because’:
cúŋkə hícịm nə́we ‘Because I don’t want anything.’
ə́ginə ‘otherwise’:
ə́ginə ʔəxịnkə́y ‘Otherwise you would have drowned.’
kə́ (a) ‘when’:
kə́ gə́njbum cúmə bəg̲ə́ ‘When I was young I went to Baghdad.’
(b) ‘if’ (with preterite tense in same clause):
kə́ kị́cịmbu nəsrín pé ʔəłém ‘If I have a daughter, I’ll call her Nasrîn.

(c) 'that':

está kə íšịm zə́rə... 'Now that I have a lot of work...'

tənánət 'well,then' (to resume topic after interruption):

tənánət ʔəłén bo əwə́-i-paš mịrdį́niš xə́lk péy pé bịkənín, řáy spardúə kə... 'Well, then, they say that, in order for people to laugh at him even after his death, he requested that...'

wə́ ~ Cu|Vw 'and' (wə́ occurs in a more formal form of speech):

xóy amadə́ ʔəká wə́ jį́ł-i-pak ləbə́r ʔəká 'He gets himself ready and puts on clean clothes.'

žį́niš hə́yəw žaniš hə́yə 'There is also woman and there is also pain.' (Proverb) i.e., women can be a pain.

wə́k 'as'

wə́k ʔəłén, kurd zirə́kįn 'As they say, the Kurds are clever.'

(2) Conjunctions followed only by verb in subjunctive:

bá 'let, have' (indirect command):

bá břoyn 'Let's go!'

bá bet 'Have him come.'

báškịm 'maybe (so), probably'

báškịm bíkrịm '[I think that] maybe I'll buy it.'

ə́gər 'if'

ə́gər nə́twanịm, cí pkə́m 'If I'm not able to, what shall I do?'

hətá ~ tá ~ hətáku

(a) 'until':

hətá bį́mrịm 'until I die'

(b) 'the more...the more':

gə́m həta qúlbe mələ́y xóšə bó ɨnsan 'The deeper a lake is the better swimming it is.' (lit., 'lake as-far-as it-be-deep its-swimming is-good for man')

mə́gər 'unless, if not' (after negative verb):

šəwán-i-tịr, ləpaž nó, kə́z nábinit lə dərəwə – mə́gər sinemá nə́bet 'On other nights, after nine, you won't see anybody outdoors – unless it's at the movies.'

řə́ŋə 'maybe' (uncertain possibility):

řə́ŋə bíkrịm 'Maybe I'll buy it [and maybe not].'

xóžgə 'would that':

xožgə həmú šəw řamazánbwayə 'Would that every night were Ramazan!'

3.53. Interrogatives

Interrogatives are usually initial in the utterance, but occur medially in utterances when they introduce bound clauses (see 5.41). A feature peculiar to interrogatives is that they have a syntactic as well as a lexical meaning: signalling questions (see 2.232).

A special member within this class of particles is (D) /áyə/, which is rare in colloquial Kurdish, occurring mostly in writing. It is always initial in the utterance; it has no lexical meaning but serves only to signal an interrogative utterance.

Interrogatives differ further from interjections and conjunctions in that they may receive, for the most part, pronominal suffixes, and may be the subject or object of the verb. The first group of interrogatives below are those which occur as subject or object of verb.

(1) Those occurring as subject or object of verb:

cí	'what?'
cə́nd ~ cə́ŋ ~ cə́n	'how much? how many?'
kám	'which?'
ké	'who? whom?'
kwé ~ kwá	'where?'

(2) Those never occurring as [illegible] or object:

(D) áyə	(interrogative particle)
bóci ~ bó; bocí-	'why?' (see below for bocí-)
cón	'how?'
kə́y	'when?'

The interrogatives /kwé ~ kwá/, /kám/, and /bóci ~ bó; bocí-/ occur with the pronominal suffixes, /bocí-/ taking the copula suffix /-ə/ as well. The resultant meanings vary with the particles, as follows: /kám/ or /kwé/ plus pronominal suffixes receives partitive meaning, as

ķwét ˀəyešé	'What part of you hurts? Where are you hurting?'
kámyan hát	'Which of them came?'

The pronominal suffix added to /bocí-/ has the meaning of referent; this construction can be (1) a request for meaning or (2) a rhetorical question, as

bocítə	(1) 'Why do you want it?' or (2) 'Why should you want it?'

3.54. Numerals

While only thirty-one discrete forms occur in the corpus, these thirty-one forms may be combined according to fixed patterns to permit an infinite number of combinations. These forms and the formulas for composing numeral compounds follow.

A numeral specifies quantity of discrete units. The cardinals are:

yə́k	'1'	Šəst	'6'	yanzə́ ~ yanzdə́	'11'
dú	'2'	həwt	'7'	dwanzə́	'12'
sé	'3'	ħəšt	'8'	seanzə́	'13'
cwár	'4'	nó	'9'	cwardə́	'14'
pénj	'5'	də́	'10'	panzə́	'15'

šanzə́	'16'	sí	'30'	həštá	'80'
ħəvvə́ ~ ħəvdə́	'17'	cị́l	'40'	nəwə́d	'90'
həždə́	'18'	pənjá	'50'	ṣə́d	'100'
nozdə́	'19'	šəṣt	'60'	həzár	'1000'
bíst	'20'	ħəftá	'70'	mịlyún	'million'
				bịlyún	'billion'

While the numbers 11 – 19 seem in general to be composed of the unit plus /də́/, only /cwardə́/ shows this origin without modification. /ħəvvə́ ~ ħəvdə́/ and /həždə́/ show morphophonemic changes, /no-z-də/ shows the addition of an analogical element, and the others show the insertion of /-an-z-/ between the unit and /-(d)ə/. Thus, except for /cwardə́, it is simpler to treat these as discrete forms.

3.541. Compound Numerals. Compound numerals are formed according to the following rules of composition:

(1) Cardinals over /bíst/ 'twenty' are formed by listing the desired numerals in descending order and suffixing /Cu|Vw/ 'and' after each numeral except the last, as

sə́du bístu dú '122'

(2) If /Cu|Vw/ is omitted, the product of the two numerals is indicated, as

bíst həzár '20,000'
dwanzə́ pənjá 'twelve 50's'

Some examples of compound numerals are:

síw sé	'33'	ṣə́du nəwə́du yə́k	'191'
cị́lu pénj	'45'	ṣé ṣə́du šəṣt	'360'

həzáru no ṣə́du pənjáw cwár '1954'

3.542. Numerals plus Pronominal Suffixes. Pronominal suffixes appended to numerals indicate a partitive relationship; only the plural suffixes occur.

dúyan	'two of them'	bistyan	'twenty of them'

3.55. Prepositions

Prepositions are particles which occur only in nominal phrases, preceding the head of the phrase (for which see 5.11). The head of the phrase may be not only a free form (noun, pronoun, etc.) but also a pronominal suffix of 3.0 (3). Only two prepositions show morphemic alternants: /lə|le/ 'in, at, from' and /bə|pe/ 'to'; see simple prepositions below. The allomorphs /le/ and /pe/ occur with pronominal suffixes and /lə/ and /bə/ occur before nouns: e.g., /bə báwkịm/ 'to my father' and /péy/ 'to him'. Included among prepositions too is the postposition /Cə|Vrə...(əwə)/, a discontinuous form (see below).

3.55

The preposition indicates the relationship between the head of the nominal phrase and the rest of the utterance.

Prepositions may be simple (consisting of a single morpheme) or compound (consisting of a simple preposition and a noun or another preposition). Some prepositions may take /-əwə/ or /-da ~ -ta ~ -a/ appended to the object of the preposition to form a discontinuous preposition. Suffixation of /-əwə/ or the locative /-da ~ -ta ~ -a/ does not create a new meaning for the resultant discontinuous preposition, but merly fixes one of the several meanings of the original simple preposition.

3.551. Simple Prepositions. A list of simple and discontinuous forms, if any, follows; suffixes in parenthesis may or may not occur with the simple preposition to form a discontinuous preposition, as /lə...da/ 'in' (as opposed to /lə́/ 'in, at, from').

bá 'against, in opposition to':
hawlerí ba mríšịk náwere 'An Erbilite doesn't dare against a chicken' (Proverb) (i.e., he's very cowardly)
báy 'for the price of':
ə́mə bay cə́ndə 'How much does this cost?'
bé ~ bəbé 'without'
be ɛáql 'without intelligence, stupid'
bə|pe (1) 'to' after expressions of discourse, giving, etc.:
bə qadịr ˀəłém: cóni 'I say to Qadir, "How are you?"'
(2) 'with' (means) (-əwə)
bə aw-i-sard říšịt bịtášə 'Shave with cold water!'
(3) 'in' (with name of language):
bə kʉrdí 'in Kurdish'
(4) 'during'
bə šə́w 'at night, by night'
(5) (adjectival expression):
bə quwə́t 'strong'
(6) (oaths)
bə xwa! 'By God! Indeed!'
(7) (purpose)
hát bə kriní 'He came to buy it' (krin = to buy)
bo (1) (indirect object): 'to, for':
ˀəydə́m bo tó 'I'll give it to you.'
(2) 'intended for, as':
bo jwaní 'as an ornament'
(3) 'to' (əwə):
ˀəcịm bo bazár(əwə) 'I'm going to the market.'
dwáy 'after' (time)
dwáy du səɛát 'after two hours'

Cə|Vrə...(əwə) 'to' Cə|Vrə is suffixed only to verbs, and əwə may or may not occur after the object of the preposition, as
ʔə́cmə bazárəwə 'I'm going to the bazaar.'
bịgə́rə kərkúk 'Arrive at Kirkuk!' (bịgə́ = 'arrive!')
hətá 'up to, as far as'
hətá kərkúk řáy kịrd 'He fled as far as Kirkuk.'
lə|le (1) 'in, at' (-da ~ -ta ~ -a)
lə šə́wek-i-zịstánda 'on a winter's night'
(2) 'from' (-əwə)
lə žúrəkəwə 'from the room'
paš 'after' (time, place)
paž niwəřó 'after noon'
peš 'before' (time, place)
pež niwəřó 'before noon'
wə́ku 'like'
wə́ku ə́mə 'like this'

3.552. Compound Prepositions. Compound prepositions are composed of /lə/ or /bə/ plus a noun, usually monosyllabic, or another particle, as /lə náw/ (noun) 'inside,' /lə páš/ (preposition) 'after.' These too may optionally form discontinuous compound prepositions in /-əwə/ and /-da ~ a/ without acquiring new meanings. There is one compound preposition in /bə/, which is listed first; then follows a listing of compound prepositions in /lə/.

bəsə́r (oaths) (sə́r = 'head'):
bəsər cáw 'At your service!' (lit., 'by [my] eyes', a formal response to a request)
ləbə́r (bə́r = 'front')
(1) 'because of':
ləbə́r ə́mə 'because of this, therefore'
(2) 'on one's person'
ləbə́ri ʔəká 'He puts it on, wears it'
(3) 'within oneself' (əwə)
ləbə́r xóyəwə wúti 'He said to himself'
ləbị́n 'beneath' (bịn = 'bottom')
ləbịn trumpeləká 'beneath the car'
ləgə́ł 'with' (accompaniment) (da ~ a)
mị́n ləgəł tó yém 'I'll come with you.'
This preposition may receive two pronoun objects, in which case it means 'to be talking with, addressing', as in
ləgə́łyịm 'I'm talking to him' (lit., 'I with him')
ləgəł mị́nyeti 'He's talking to me' (lit., 'he with me')
The object always precedes the subject. The object is expressed by the independent pronouns of 3.3 for the 1st and

2nd persons and by the pronominal suffixes of 3.0 for the 3rd person. The subject is expressed by the pronominal suffixes with /-yeti|ə/ occurring in the 3rd singular.

ləkín̩...əwə 'beside' (kín̩ = 'side')
    ləkín̩mәwә dá nišə 'sit next to me'
ləlá...əwə 'beside'
    ləlátəwə 'at your side, next to you'
lənáw 'inside' (-da)
    lənáw əmbirә́da 'inside of this well' (bír = 'well')
ləpáš 'after' (da)
    ləpaž nó 'after 9 o'clock'
ləpéš 'before' (-da)
    ləpež nó 'before 9 o'clock'
ləsә́r 'on top of'
    ləsә́r małəkә́ 'on the house'
ləžér 'under'
    ləžér utelәkә́ 'under the hotel'
wә́ku 'like'
    wә́ku əmə wáyə 'It's just like this.'

3.56. Adverbs

Adverbs are particles which may occur in verbal phrases as well as in nominal phrases or initially in the utterance. Lexically, they can be classified as adverbs of time, place, manner, or quantity. Syntactically, adverbs group together as follows: adverbs of time and manner generally occur initially in the utterance, as /dwaí du pyaw hátịn bo mał-i-émə/ 'Later, two men came to our house'. Adverbs of place can, like nouns, be the subject of the verb, as /érəm pe xóšə/ 'I like it here' (lit., 'here is pleasant to me'), or the object of a preposition, as /kəy hátit bo érə/ 'When did you come [to] here?' Adverbs of quantity can be pre-head modifiers in nominal phrases (for which see 5.112), as /gә́le kəs/ 'a lot of people', or can modify the verb, as /zor ʔəgəřé/ 'he walks around very much'. And there is a special set of adverbs, the preverbs, which are modifiers in verbal phrases (for which see 5.12), as /tek cu-:c-/ 'to disagree'. On the morphological level, there is a special class of two adverbs which occur only as unstressed suffixes on verbs: these are postverbs. One of them may occur on any verb, and the other occurs on only the verb /da-:də-|d-/ 'to give'.

Adverbs are a closed class, and all adverbs recorded in the corpus are listed below.

(1) Adverbs of time and manner.

Time:

dəmdə́m	'from time to time'	ɨ́msał	'this year'
dərħál	'immediately'	ɨ́mšəw	'tonight'
dúsbəy	'day after tomorrow'	pár	'last year'
dwaí	'later'	perár	'year before last'
dwéne	'yesterday'	pašəřóž	'in the future'
está	'now'	sbə́y ~ səbħə́yne	'tomorrow'
héšta	'still, yet'	yəksə́r	'straight, immediately'
ɨ́mřo ~ ə́mro	'today'		

Manner:

pékəwə	'together'	xásətən	'especially'
wá	'thus, like this'	ínja	'then, in that case'

(2) Place:

érə	'here'	əwé	'there'

(3) Quantity:

cə́nd ~ cə́n	'a few'	hə́r	'only'
gə́le(k)	'a great deal of'	híc	'no'
həmú ~ ħəmú	'each, every'	nə́xte(k)	'a little of'
hə́nde(k)	'a little of'	zór	'very'

(4) Preverbs: Table 5, on the following page, lists the thirteen preverbs with five common verbs, showing the resultant meanings. Note: it is the preverb rather than the verb that receives primary stress; see 2.22.

(5) Postverbs:

Cəwə|Vrəwə This has two meanings: 'back to place of origin,'

as bom bịdə́ 'Give it to me!'
and bom bịdə́rəwə 'Give it back to me!'

The second meaning is 'again and again', describing a repeated action, as

pak ʔəkə́m 'I clean, peel (fruit)'
and pak ʔəkə́məwə 'I clean, wash (truck)'

That is, a piece of fruit can be cleaned or peeled but once, while a truck can be cleaned or washed many times.

Ce|Vre 'to' (indirect object)

This postverb occurs only with /da-:də-/ 'to give' where the indirect object is a pronominal suffix,

as ʔədə́m 'I give'
and ʔədə́me 'I give to'.

The object of the phrase may also be expressed on the verb by pronominal suffixes in the present tense, as

ʔəddə́me 'I give to you' (from *ʔətdə́me)

and by the verbal suffixes (with zero in the 3rd sing.) in past, as

dam 'I gave'

and dә́mite 'I gave [it] to you'

Table 5

The Preverbs

Preverb	da-:də- 'to give'	hat-:ye-|y 'to come'	cu-:c- 'to go'	kịrd-:kə-|k- 'to do'	na-:ne-|n- 'to put'
dә́ 'down'	'sharpen' (pencil)	'put in 1st appearance'	'descend'	. . . .	'put down'
də́r 'out'	. . . .	'come out, emerge'	'pass, escape'	'remove, take out'	. . . .
hə́ɬ 'up'	'throw (a thing) up'	'rise, shine'	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
lé 'from'	'hit, touch play (music)	. . . .	. . . .	'to do to, do with'	'cook, prepare food'
ləbə́r 'on'	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	'put on, wear'	. . . .
pé 'to'	'give to'	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
pék 'together'	'collide'	'be reconciled with'	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
péwə 'with'	'bite, sting'	'bring good luck'	'to go through'	. . . .	. . . .
řá 'away'	'wash away (trans.)	'get used to'	'go away'	'run away'	. . . .
řó 'down'	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	'pour in' (to vessel)	. . . .
tɛ́ 'into'	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	'put into, insert'
ték 'dis-'	'spoil, stir'	. . . .	'disagree'	. . . .	. . . .
wə́r 'from'	'shake' (water)	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

3.57. Demonstratives

The demonstrative may be subject or object of the verb, as /ə́mə cíyə/ 'What is this?'; or it may be a pre-head modifier in a nominal phrase (see 5.112), in which case it is a discontinuous particle, as /əmpyawə́/ 'this man'.

<table>
<tr><td>ə́mə</td><td>‘this’</td><td>ə́wə</td><td>‘that’</td></tr>
<tr><td>əm...Cə́|Vyə</td><td>‘this’</td><td>əw...Cə́|Vyə́</td><td>‘that’</td></tr>
</table>

3.58. Relatives

There is one relative particle, which is always initial in the clause (see 5.4) and may be the subject or object of the verb.

kə́ ‘who, which, that, that which, etc.’

CHAPTER IV

WORD FORMATION

4.0. Introductory

Chapter 3 presents word inflections – those affixation processes which identify the various form classes. In this chapter, which treats of word formation, inflections as such are ignored and the structure of the word in its stem form is examined.[1] In Kurdish, words are derived through reduplication, compounding, and affixation. Reduplication and compounding deal with free forms, while affixation deals with both free forms and bound forms.

Verb stems deserve special mention here. Verb stems are bound forms to which various affixes are appended to derive either verbs (finite forms) or nouns (infinitives). When verb stems are compounded, they result in nouns, just as nominal free forms do. Thus, verb stems are nominal forms.

Although finite verbs are formed from verb stems through affixation (present, preterite, imperfect, and present perfect indicative) or compounding (past perfect and past perfect subjunctive, from past stem compounded with /bu-:b-/ 'to be'), this formation is described in section 3.414 in conjunction with verb inflection, since verb formation and inflection are closely tied to each other. Formation of infinitives is described in 4.31, and the compounding of verbal stems to form nouns other than infinitives is described below in section 4.2.

In the present chapter, the period (.) indicates morphological boundaries and not necessarily syllable boundaries or juncture.

4.1. Reduplication

Reduplication is the repetition of a complete word stem, thereby deriving a new word stem. The underlying word stems are nouns. The derivative word may have a distributive meaning, as in /dəmdə́m/ 'from time to time' from /də́m/ 'period of time, while,' or it may strengthen the meaning of the underlying word, as in /pələpə́l/ 'great haste' from /pələ́/ 'haste'. Reduplicated forms based on words of the pattern /CVCə/ show loss of the second /-ə/, as in /gizəgíz/ from /gizə́/.

dəmdə́m	'from time to time'	<	də́m	'period of time, while'
pecpéc	'zigzag'	<	péc	'curve'
xịłxịłokə́	'top' (that spins)	<	xị́ł	'a spinning' (/-okə́/ = diminutive suffix)
pələpə́l	'great haste'	<	pələ́	'haste'
gizəgíz kịrdịn	'to complain'	<	gizə́	(the buzzing of a bullet)

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[1] Inflection shows grammatical meaning—defined by Bloch and Trager in their Outline of Linguistic Analysis as the "element of meaning which

4.2. Compounding

Compounding is the joining together of two words to form a new (i.e., derivative) word. This may be effected either with or without a composition vowel (/-ə-/ or /-u-/). If the composition vowel /-u-/ 'and' occurs, the derivative word is a coordinate compound (see 4.23). In the other two cases there is usually a modification (i.e., a describing) of one term by the other. The modified term is called the head.

There is a special class of compounds which includes not only free forms but bound forms as well: those containing verb stems (see 4.0). Verb stems are compounded in some instances to form certain verb tenses (see 3.414) and in other instances to form noun compounds (see illustrations below). It must be pointed out that the verb stem is classified in the form class of nouns, as those derivative words which have verb stems as head are of the form class of nouns.

Compounds formed without composition vowel are called descriptive compounds. Of those formed with a composition vowel, those with /-ə-/ are called emphatic compounds and those with /-u-/ are called coordinate compounds.

4.21. Descriptive Compounds

Descriptive compounds are formed of two words without composition vowel: verb stems, although not free forms, also enter into the formation of these compounds. The ordering of the members of the compound may be semisyntactic (SS), or roughly paralleling the order these items would have as free forms in a larger utterance such as a clause; or it may be asyntactic (AS), or contrary to the syntactic arrangement of words in larger utterances. The groups of descriptive compounds below are marked SS or AS as the case may be.

The second member of the descriptive compound is the head, being modified by the first member. All form classes except pronouns occur as the head. All descriptive compounds are nouns, except that those descriptive compounds which have adjective heads are adjectives.

Word stress is always on the final syllable. The period (.), as mentioned above, indicates morphological boundaries and not necessarily syllable boundaries or juncture.

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differs from one member of a paradigm to another" (page 68); it never changes a word from one form class to another. Derivation through affixation, on the other hand, is the creating of a new word stem from a given underlying word stem, and so involves a potential change in form class. The past stem of /xward-:xo-|xw[illegible]-/ 'to eat' is inflected when it receives the first singular suffix /-ịm/, giving /xwárdịm/ 'I ate' (as opposed to 'you', 'he', or anyone else), but word derivation is illustrated when the past stem receives the suffix /ị́n/ to derive the noun (infinitive) /xwardị́n/ 'to eat'.

4.211. Noun Compounds

(1) Noun + Noun (AS):

tir.bịržán	'beautiful person'	(lit., 'arrow eyelashes')
mar.masí	'eel'	('snake fish')
niwəřo.xə́w	'noon nap'	('noon dream')
zir.brá	'step-brother'	('tree-stump brother')
ǥolət.yarí	'a bad move or play'	('mistake play', in backgammon)
sər.bán	'roof'	('head plateau')
la.dé	'countryside,country'	('side village')
kər.froštị́n	'donkey selling'	(this compound is SS)

(2) Particle + Noun (SS):

cwar-pé	'quadruped; donkey'	('four leg')
du.zmán	'a deceitful person'	('two tongue')

(3) Noun + Particle (AS):

gian.ləbə́r	'animal'	('soul or.' = 'soul possessing')

(4) Noun + Verb Stem (SS):

If the verb stem is of a transitive verb, the noun member is the direct object of that stem and the verb stem has the meaning of actor; if the stem is of an intransitive ver the noun is its subject. Both present and past stems of verbs occur, as well as the passive (of one verb). Verb stems which end in a vowel receive the agent suffix /-r/.

(a) present stem:

řəsm.gị́r	'photographer'	('picture take')
kaǥcz.nús	'letter-writer'	('letter write')
taj.báxš	(proper name)	('crown give')
kław.řfén	'shoe thief'	('shoe steal')
kałək.fróš	'melon vendor'	('melon sell')
kər.fróš	'donkey seller'	('donkey sell')

Vowel stem with agent suffix -r:

səg.šór	'dog washer' (professional)	('dog wash-er') (šo- = 'wash')
məʕaš.xór	'employee'	('salary eat-er') (xo- = 'eat')
fərš.řaxə́r	'one who spreads carpets' (as profession)	(řa xịst-:xə-|x- = 'to spread out')

With vowel change and agent suffix -r: (see 4.31 (4))

cəkmə.bór	'soldier'	(boots wear-er) (bịrd-:bə-|b- = 'to carry, wear')

(b) present passive stem:

dịł.gír	'sad, grieved'	('heart taken')
la.gír	'supporter, follower, -ite'	('side taken')

(c) past stem:

řož.həłát (pro řož.həłhát)	'sunrise, east'	('sun arose': həł hat = 'he, it arose, came up')

(d) past stem less dental stop:

nan.kịr	'baker'	('bread make')

(5) Adjective + Verb Stem (SS):

dur.bin-	'far seeing'	in durbiní	'farsightedness'

(-í = nominal suffix with meaning of quality or state: see 4.313)

4.212. Adjective Compounds

Noun + Adjective (SS):

dịł.təŋ	'grieved'	('heart tight')
sər.spí	'hoary'	('head white')
dịł .škáw	'heartbroken'	
qsə.xóš	'witty'	('speech pleasant')

4.22. Emphatic Compounds

Emphatic compounds are formed of two members joined by the composition vowel /-ə-/; nouns, adjectives, verb stems, and particles occur as members of emphatic compounds. The combinations of these which actually occur are listed below. Note that the combinations noun + /-ə/ + adjective and adjective + /-ə/ + noun both occur. The outstanding feature of this type of compound is the fact that the first member, regardless of its form class, receives the primary focus of attention. Thus, while the phrase /merd-i-pir/ (two words joined by izafa: see Syntax, 5.11) is the usual way of expressing 'the old man', the word /pirəmérd/ implies that oldness is a characteristic of the man. Another feature of the emphatic compound is seen when this type of word is compared with descriptive compounds. The latter are quite well-established conventional forms, while emphatic compounds seem readily capable of spontaneous formation. For example, a boy employed at the hotel where I stayed was impressed by my tape recorder, which has a black case. He consistently called it /snoqəřəšəkə́/ 'the black-box', rather than referring to it in the more usual way as /snoq-i-řəšəkə́/ 'the black box'. Some emphatic compounds, however, like /řəšəbá/ 'black wind' (referring to a type of dust storm typical of that area of the country) are quite conventional and fixed in the language.

Inflections are attached to the second member of emphatic compounds, as /əwřožəxošanə́š/ 'those Good (old) Days also'.

All emphatic compounds are nouns. The direction of modification varies, according to the form classes involved: adjectives and particles always modify nouns, and nouns always modify verb stems. In case two nouns are members of a given compound, the second noun modifies the first. The composition vowel /-ə-/ seems to have a genitive meaning, roughly equivalent to the izafa of 5.1. Compare also the pre-eminent item suffix /-ə/ in 4.31 (6). Word stress regularly falls on the ultima.

(1) Noun + Noun (SS):

niw.ə.řó	'noon'	('half + day')
tul.ə.sóg	'puppy'	('young + dog')
bənd.ə.xwén	'belt cord'	('cord + blood')
xol.ə.méš	'ash'	('soil + fly')
dəŋk.ə.zíx	'piece of gravel'	('pebble + gravel')
žan.ə.sór	'headache'	('ache + head')
kuř.ə.zá	'grandson'	('son + offspring')

(2) Noun + Adjective (SS):

biẓin.ə.kewí	'mountain goat'	('goat + mountain')
snoq.ə.řəšəkó	'the black box'	('box + black the')
xošk.ə.gəwró	'elder sister'	('sister + big')
qul.ə.řəš	'Negro'	('Negro + black')

(3) Adjective + Noun (AS):

řəš.ə.bá	'black wind'	('black + wind')
pir.ə.mérd	'old man'	('old + man')
pir.ə.žịn	'old woman'	('old + woman')

(4) Noun + Verb Stem (SS):

šir.ə.xór	'infant'	('milk + drinker xo = 'drink')

(5) Particle + Noun (SS):

paš.ə.řóž	'future'	('after + day')

4.23. Coordinate Compounds

Coordinate compounds consist of two words (including verb stems) joined together by /-u-/ 'and'. The two members are usually of the same form class, and the resultant compound is of the same form class as its members. If the compound is composed of an adjective and a particle, the derivative is an adjective. The meaning of the coordinate compound is usually the sum of the meaning of its constituent parts, but occasionally the compound has a figurative meaning as well. There is no head and no modification. Stress is on the ultima.

(1) Noun + Noun (= Noun):

cəp.u.řást 'left hand and right hand'

cəpuřást-i-xoy názane 'He doesn't know his left hand and his right hand' = 'He's quite stupid.'

buk.u.šušə́ 'toys' ('bridegroom and glass')
šir.u.tír 'swords and arrows'
dost.u.bradə́r 'friends' ('friend and friend')
sard.u.gə́rm 'cold and hot'
ə́mə sardugə́rmi nə́diwə 'This fellow hasn't seen cold and hot' = 'He can't tell right from wrong.'

The meaning of the following two items is not the sum of the meanings of their constituent parts:

xał.u.zá 'cousin' ('uncle and offspring')
xał.u.žịn 'aunt' ('uncle and wife')

(2) Adjective + Adjective (= Adjective):
řast.u.cə́wt 'dishonest' ('straight and crooked')

(3) Adjective + Particle (= Adjective):
rek.u.pék 'in order, in tip-top shape' ('arranged and together')

(4) Verb Stem + Verb Stem (= Noun):
hat.u.có 'coming and going, loitering' ('come and go')
hatucó nábe 'No Loitering'
xward.u.bịrd 'eating and plucking' ('eat and carry')
(flowers, vegetables)
xwardubị́rd níyə 'No eating or plucking'

(5) Verb Stem + Negation + Verb Stem (= Noun):
xo.nə́.xor 'One who does not eat' ('eat-not-eater')
This is the unique occurrence of this type of compound.

4.3. Suffixation

In this section are treated those bound forms (all are suffixes except for two prefixes) which, when affixed to an underlying word, result in new word stems. Affixes are classified according to the form class to which they convert. Thus, affixing a nominal suffix results in a noun, and so on.

4.31. Nominal Suffixes

Nominal suffixes, that is, those which convert to the form class of nouns, occur suffixed to nouns, adjectives, verb stems, and particles, and, in the case of one suffix, to phrases. Most suffixes occur exclusively with a single form class, but a few are appended to more than one form class.

(1) Nominal suffixes occurring with nouns:
1) -ayətí (abstraction: state or condition):
xịzmayətí 'relationship' < xịzị́m 'relative'
2) -báz 'one who is fond of'
səgbáz 'dog fancier' < sə́g 'dog'

pulbáz	'spendthrift'	<	púl	'money'
hətiwbáz	'homosexual'	<	hətíw	'orphan'
nʉktəbáz	'comedian'	<	nʉktə́	'joke'

3) -cí 'one who works with':

wutucí	'launderer'	<	wutú	'iron'
boyagcí	'bootblack'	<	boyág	'shoe shine'

4) -dán 'receptacle':

šəkịrdán	'sugar bowl'	<	šəkị́r	'sugar'
xwedán	'salt shaker'	<	xwé	'salt'
agịrdán	'fireplace	<	agị́r	'fire'

5) -dánd (quality or state):

agadánd	'alertness'	<	agá	'care'

6) -əwán 'one related to':

šaxəwán	'mountaineer'	<	šáx	'mountain'
qazəwán	'goose tender'	<	qáz	'goose'
kəštyəwán	'sailor'	<	kəští	'ship'

7) -əwarí 'people, nation':

kʉrdəwarí	'the Kurdish people'	<	kʉ́rd	'Kurd'

8) -gá 'place'

kargá	'workshop'	<	kár	'work'
dadgá	'court'	<	dád	'justice'

9) -ịstán 'place'

kʉrdịstán	'Kurdistan'	<	kʉ́rd	'Kurd'
darịstán	'forest'	<	dár	'tree'

10) -xanə́ ~ -xán 'room, building'

cayxanə́	'tea shop'	<	cáy	'tea'
žerxán	'basement'	<	žer	'under part'

11) -zá 'child of'

brazá	'brother's child'	<	brá	'brother'
purzá	'aunt's child'	<	pur	'aunt'

12-18) -lə; -ulə́; -žolə́; -okə́; -ockə́; -ịlkə́; -lokə́ (diminutive suffixes) These indicate smallness, and, in some instances, endearment. Choice of suffix is not predictable. -lokə́ is composed of -lə́ and -okə́, expressing greater degree of smallness.

-lə	: təšpilə́	'small wooden dish'	<	təšpí	'wooden dish'
-ulə́	: mešulə́	'mosquito'	<	méš	'fly'
-žolə́	: karžolə́	'small ewe'	<	kár	'ewe'
-okə́	: mịnałokə́	'(dear) little child'	<	mịnáł	'child'
-ockə́	: małockə́	'little house'	<	máł	'house'
-ịlkə́	: cawịlkə́	'eyeglasses'	<	cáw	'eye'
-lokə́	: təšpilokə́	'very small wooden dish'	<	təšpí	'wooden dish'

(2) Nominal suffixes occurring with adjectives:

1) -á (quality or condition):

sardá	'(the) cold'	<	sárd	'cold' (adj.)
gərmá	'heat'	<	gə́rm	'hot'

2) -aí (state or condition):

səwzaí	'greenness'	<	sə́wz	'green'
drežaí	'length'	<	drež	'long'
kweraí	'blindness'	<	kwér	'blind'

(3) Nominal suffixes occurring with nouns and adjectives:

1) -í (quality or state):

Nouns:

daykí	'motherhood'	<	dáyk	'mother'
mịnałi	'childhood'	<	mịnáł	'child'

Adjectives:

jwaní	'beauty'	<	jwán	'beautiful'
pirí	'oldness'	<	pír	'old'
cakí	'goodness'	<	cák	'good'

2) Cetí|Vyetí (state or quality):

pyawetí	'humanity'	<	pyáw	'man'
brayetí	'brotherhood'	<	brá	'brother'
piretí	'oldness'	<	pír	'old'

(4) Nominal suffixes occurring with verb stems:

1) -gár (agent):

kịrdgár	'Creator'	<	kịrd-:kə-|k-	'do, make'

2) Cịn|Vn (underlying notion of verb stem) this occurs on past stem to form the infinitive, or verbal noun:

kịrdịn	'doing, making'	<	kịrd-:kə-|k-	'to do, make'
dán	'giving'	<	da-:də-|d-	'to give'

3) C0|Vr (agent) occurs only on present stems ending in a vowel, sometimes with accompanying vocalic alternation:

məṭašxór	'employee'	<	məṭáš 'salary'; xward-:xo-|xw- 'to eat'	
cəkməbór	'soldier'	<	cəkmə́ 'boots'; bịrd-:bə-|b- 'to carry'	

(5) Nominal suffixes occurring with nouns and verb stems:

1-2) -nók; -ók ('characterized by'). These are the same in meaning but are not predictable in distribution:

-nók:	tịrsnók	'coward'	<	tịrs	'fear'
	grinók	'cry-baby'	<	gri-:gr-	'to cry'
-ók:	kịrmók[1]	'worm-eaten'	<	kịrịm	'worm'
	gəřók	'one who loves to walk, can't sit still'	<	gəřa-:gəře-	'to walk'

(6) Nominal suffix occurring with nouns, adjectives, verb stems, pronouns, and nominal phrases (for which see 5.11):

-ə́ (preëminent item) this suffix indicates a particular item which typifies a class of items par excellence; or it merely points out a specific item:

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[1] For these morphophonemic processes involving syncope of /ị/ and assimilation of /š/, see 2.312 and 2.321 respectively.

swarə́	'cavalryman'	<	swár	'horseman'
danə́	'grain'	<	dán	'grain, feed'
širə́	'rag'	<	šír	'ragged'
žmarə́	'number'	<	žmard-:žmer-	'to count'
əwanə́	'they' (definite antecedent)	<	əwán	'they (indef.)
bekarə́	'lazy person'	<	be kár	'without work'

(7) Nominal suffix occurring with particles:

-ló (hypostasis). This is suffixed to cardinal numerals to give citation form: the name of a number, without reference to quantity of items:

šəžló[1]	'a six; the sixes' (in cards)	<	šə́ž	'six'
duló	'a deuce'	<	dú	'two'

4.32. Adjectival Suffixes

Adjectival suffixes derive adjectives from nouns, adjectives, verb stems, and particles. There are also two prefixes, /nə́-/ and /ná-/, which derive adjectives from adjectives.

(1) Adjectival suffixes occurring with nouns:

1) -awí 'covered with':

qorawí	'muddy'	<	qór	'mud'
bəfrawí	'snow-covered'	<	bə́fr	'snow'

2) -í (gentilic):

řožawaí	'western'	<	řožawá	'west'
ɛisaí	'Christian'	<	ɛísa	'Jesus'
qawəí	'brown'	<	qawə́	'coffee'

3) -mə́nd 'having'

dadmə́nd	'just'	<	dád	'justice'

4) -ị́n 'characterized by':

šərmị́n	'bashful'	<	šərm	'bashfulness'
tukịn	'hirsute'	<	túk	'hair'

(2) Adjectival affixes occurring with adjectives:

1) -báw 'of the shade of':

surbáw	'reddish'	<	súr	'red'

2-3) nə́-: ná- (negative). Certain adjectives take only nə́-, others take only ná-, and others take either:

nə́tiž	'dull'	<	tíž	'sharp'
nárek	'disarranged, dishonest'	<	řék	'straight'

---

[1] See footnote on the preceding page.

nə́xoš	'ill'	} <	xə́s	'pleasant'
náxoš	'unpleasant'			

4) -olə́ (diminutive)

kịzolə́	'somewhat dull, gloomy'			
		<	kị́z	'dull, gloomy'

(3) Adjectival suffix occurring with verb stems:

Cú|Vw 'having...' suffixed to past stem of verb to give the past participle (see 3.414 (5)).

xwardú	'having eaten'	<	xward-:xo-	'to eat'
ʔawsáw	'swollen'	<	ʔawsá-:ʔawsé	'to swell'

(4) Adjectival suffix occurring with nouns and particles:

-anə́ 'like or pertaining to':

kịcanə́	'girlish'	<	kịc	'girl'
řožanə́	'daily'	<	řóž	'day'
dwanə́	'twin'	<	dú	'two'

4.33. Verbal Suffixes

Verbal suffixes occur only with verb stems. Verb inflections are described in 3.4. Also described there is verb formation, together with the bound forms which occur in those formational processes, namely /ʔə-/, /bị/, /-u/, /-ịbu-/, /-ayə ~ -bayə/, /-r-/, /-a-:-e[illegible] and the person-number suffixes. In addition, affixes indicating p[illegible]al goal and negation are described there.

Verbal suffix occurring with verb stems:

Cánd|Vyánd-Cén|Vyén (causative) suffixed to present stems of verbs:

tịrsánd-:tịrsén-	'to frighten'	<	tịrsá-:tịrs-	'to fear'
gəyánd-:gəyén-	'to cause to arrive'			
		<	gəyšt-:gə-|g-	'to arrive'
nwánd-:nwén-	'to put to sleep'	<	nust-:nu-|nw-	'to sleep'

4.34. Particle Suffixes

Particle suffix occurring with numerals:

Cə́m|Vyə́m|uwə́m (ordinal). Indicates position in a series of items; may occur with increment (D) /-ín/ without change in meaning:

yəkə́m ~ (D)yəkəmín	'first'	seyə́m	'third'
duwə́m	'second'	bístu penjə́m	'twenty-fifth'

CHAPTER V

SYNTAX

5.0. The Utterance

An utterance is any stretch of speech preceded and followed by silence on the part of the speaker. It may consist of a single word (defined in 3.0 (1) as any free morpheme) or of more than one word. Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to the inflection and formation of single words which make up an entire utterance. Chapter 5 takes up the structure of utterances consisting of more than one word. These utterances may consist of a phrase, a clause, or a combination of clauses. The phrase is a construction consisting of a head and its modifiers; it is merely an expansion of the head and functions syntactically as a single item of the same form class as the head. The clause is an exocentric construction with two heads—a subject and a verb. Thus, the phrase and the clause are defined syntactically rather than phonologically. The expression "syntactic unit" refers to any phrase or clause which is substitutable for a single word in any given syntactic position (for which see Clause Word Order, 5.23).

The definition of the clause arrived at in this analysis corresponds to the definition of the sentence in traditional European grammars. The definition of the sentence as used in this work is taken from Professor Charles C. Fries: "a single free utterance, minimum or expanded; i.e., it is 'free' in the sense that it is not included in any larger structure by means of any grammatical device."[1]

5.1. Phrases

The phrase is a construction which consists of a single head and its modifiers and which is substitutable for a single word in a given syntactic position as defined in 5.23. Phrases are of two types: nominal and verbal. These are described in the following sections.

5.11. Nominal Phrases

The head of the nominal phrase may be a noun, an adjective, a pronoun, or a particle (interrogative, numeral, or demonstrative); the head is a word described (modified) by the other words (modifiers) of the phrase. The modifiers are of two classes: (1) those which follow the head and are linked to it by the liaison morpheme /-i-/; these include nouns, adjectives, and pronouns; and (2) those which precede the head but are not formally linked to it, including certain types of particles and nouns; these are called prehead modifiers.

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[1] Charles C. Fries, The Structure of English (New York, 1952) 25.

The liaison morpheme /-i-/ links two words or word groups into an endocentric construction—one that contains a single head with one or more modifiers. The hyphens in the transcription do not indicate juncture, but only morphological boundaries. The traditional term for this endocentric liaison morpheme is izafa, taken from Arabic grammar, and will be used here to mean "the endocentric liaison morpheme /-i-/."

5.111. Minimal Nominal Phrases.

(1) The most common type of nominal phrase consists of head, izafa, and modifier, which can be diagrammed thus:

$\boxed{\text{head}}$ -i- $\boxed{\text{modifier}}$

The head may be a noun, an adjective, or a pronoun, and the modifier may be a noun, an adjective, or a pronoun, as follows:

miṇáł-i-pcúk	'small children'
máł-i-pyawəkə́	'the house of the man'
pyáwek-i-baš	'a good man'
náw-i-tə́	'your name' (not someone else's; cf. náwiṭ 'your name')
xəřík-i-nusín	'busy writing'

(2) The second type of nominal phrase consists of a head preceded by a modifier without izafa, diagrammed as follows:

$\boxed{\text{modifier}}$ $\boxed{\text{head}}$

In most instances of this type of nominal phrase, nouns occur as heads, and certain particles (interrogatives, numerals, prepositions, adverbs of degree, and demonstratives) occur as the prehead modifiers. The head is always singular after interrogatives, numerals, and adverbs of degree, and of course is surrounded by the constituent elements of the discontinuous demonstratives /əw...Cə́|Vyə́/ 'that' and /əm...Cə́|Vyə́/ 'this'.

cə́nd řož	'how many days?'
du miṇáł	'two children'
lə bəġá	'in Baghdad'
gə́le kəs	'many people'
əwšəwə́	'that night' (šə́w = 'night')

In some instances the modifier is a noun and the head is a numeral, as

səɛát du	'two o'clock'

A nominal phrase with a preposition modifier (e.g., /lə bəġá/) is called a prepositional phrase. Prepositional phrases are unlike other nominal phrases in that they do not have the same syntactic functions as nouns (such as subject, object, etc.), but serve as modifiers in the verbal phrase (5.121) or clause (5.24).

5.112. Expanded Nominal Phrases. The two minimal phrases of the previous section can be expanded into larger constructions by combining the two of them and/or by joining an additional phrase or a clause as a modifier.

(1) Combination of the two minimal types of 5.111. The phrase may be expanded to include particle, head, izafa, and modifier as defined in 5.11. This is represented by the following diagram:

modifier   head   -i-   modifier

du miṇáł-i-pcuk	'two small children'
əwšəwəkə́-i-sərjó	'that night in Serjo'
əmišə́-i-to	'this deed of yours' (iš = 'work, deed')

(2) The phrase may also be expanded to include a head, izafa, and a nominal phrase. The modifying phrase may be either of the basic types of 5.111 or an expanded type of the preceding subsection.

head   -i-   phrase

náw-i-mudír-i-muţárɨf	'the name of the director of education'
jasús-i-ṣəd sał	'a spy of a hundred years'
xanə́-i-bə jə́ŋ	'a noisy house' (bə jə́ŋ = 'with noise')
səbə́b-i-əmišə́-i-to	'the reason for this deed of yours'
səţát du-i-paž niwəřó	'two o'clock p.m.'

(3) A third type of expanded nominal phrase contains two prehead modifiers and head, diagrammed as follows:

modifier   modifier   head

cəŋ be ɨnsáfi	'How unjust you are!' (be ɨnsáf = 'without justice, unjust')

(4) The head of the nominal phrase may also be followed by a modifying (i.e., describing) clause introduced by the relative /kə/ 'who' and linked by izafa. As this construction involves utterances larger than a clause, it is described in combinations of clauses, 5.322.

5.12. Verbal Phrases

The verbal phrase is a construction consisting minimally of a head and its modifier, in which the head is a verb and the modifier may be an adverb, a noun, or an adjective; the modifier precedes the verb.

modifier   head

A special type of verbal phrase has the copula (defined under (1) in 3.414; see also illustration in (4) in 5.121 below) and a predicate as modifier. The predicate may be a noun or pronoun, in which case it has the same referent as the subject, as

əwpyawə́ boyagcíyə 'That man is a bootblack.'

Or, the predicate may be an adjective, an interrogative, or a prepositional phrase, in which case it modifies the subject, as

cóni? cáki? 'How are you? Are you well?'
zor bə quwə́ti 'You are very strong.' (be quwə́t = 'with strength')

The verbal phrase is a syntactic unit; that is, it can fill the syntactic role of a simple verb. Minimal types of verbal phrases are presented in 5.121 and expanded types are presented in 5.122.

5.121. Minimal Types of Verbal Phrases. The following types of minimal verbal phrases exist:

(1) adverb + verb: də́r kịrd-:kə-|k- 'to take out, remove'
səgəkə́ lerə də́r kə 'Take the dog out of here!'

(2) noun + verb: baŋ kịrd-:kə-|k- 'to call, invite'
məlá baŋ ʔəká 'He invites the mullah'

(3) adjective + verb: amadə́ kịrd-:kə-|k- 'to make ready'
xoy amadə́ ʔəká 'He gets himself ready'

(4) predicate + copula: be ɨnsáf + copula 'to be unjust' (see 5.12)
cəŋ be ɨnsáfi 'How unjust you are!'

5.122. Expanded Types of Verbal Phrases. The following types of expanded verbal phrases exist:

(5) adverb + adverb + verb: = (1) + (1)
tek wər da-:də-|d- 'to shake'
aw tek wər ʔədá 'He shakes the water'

(6) noun + adverb + verb: = (2) + (1)
pənd pe da-:də-|d- 'to play a trick on'
bóci pəndịt pe dam 'Why did you play a trick on me?' (For construction see 5.4)

5.123. Verbal Phrases with Nouns and Adjectives. These verbal phrases are very common in the language, and any noun or adjective can potentially occur in a verbal phrase. The most common verb in phrases of types (2) and (3) is /kịrd-:kə-|k-/ 'to do, make'; other very common verbs are /bu-:b-/ 'to become' and /da-:də-|d-/ 'to give'. A number of nouns and adjectives occur with both /kịrd-:kə-|k-/ and /bu-:b-/ with transitive and intransitive meanings respectively, as

fer kịrd-:kə-|k- 'to teach' and fer bu-:b- 'to learn'
pak kịrd-:kə-|k- 'to clean' and pak bu-:b- 'to become clean'

5.124. Verbal Phrase Diagram. The verbal phrase is diagramed as follows:

<table>
<tr><td></td><td rowspan="2">adverb</td><td>adverb</td><td rowspan="4">verb</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">noun</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>adjective</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>predicate</td><td>copula</td></tr>
</table>

5.2. The Clause

The clause is a construction consisting minimally of a subject and a verb in agreement. It may also contain a direct object[1] of the verb, as well as modifying expressions in certain positions in the clause and certain introductory expressions. These are described in the following sections. The formula for the fully expanded clause is given in 5.25.

5.21. Subject

The clause consists minimally of a subject and its verb. The subject may be expressed within the verb by the person-number suffix—the implicit subject—as in /hát/ 'he came'; thus, a verb may constitute a minimum clause in itself. Or the subject may be expressed in a separate word—the explicit subject—as in /pyáwek hát/ 'A man came'. There is person-number concord between the subject and the verb. However, if the subject is a numeral, the verb is in the singular: see illustration (4) below. If the subject is /tó/ 'you', the verb may be in the plural, to give the effect of an honorific, as /tó cí ʔaxwénịn?/ 'What are you (polite) studying?' The subject may be a noun, an adjective, a pronoun, or a particle (interrogative, numeral, adverb of place or quantity, demonstrative, or relative). The subject may also be a nominal phrase (except prepositional phrases), and the verb may be a verbal phrase. These various types of subject are illustrated in the following sentences; the first word in each case is the subject, except that in (8) /ká/ is subject:

(1) Noun cetəkán hə́ɫ hatịn 'The bandits ran away.'

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[1] The "indirect object" is expressed in Kurdish by a prepositional phrase in /bá/ 'to' or /bó/ 'to, for' (see under 3.55). As these phrases involve no syntactic arrangement different from any other prepositional phrase, they are not treated here as separate items. The position of the indirect object in the clause is described in 5.24, Order of Modifiers. A special postverb expressing indirect object only with the verb /da-:də-|d-/ 'to give' is described on page 79.

(2) Pronoun əwániš hic qsə nákən 'They too do not speak.' (-iš = 'also')
(3) Interr. ké ʔəzáne 'Who knows?'
(4) Numeral dúyan hat 'Two of them came.'
(5) Adverb of Place érəm pe xóšə 'I like it here' (lit., 'here is pleasant to me')
(6) Adverb of Quantity hə́nde lə dostubradərəkáni tədbír ʔəkə́n... 'A few of his friends arrange...'
(7) Demon. ə́mə bášə 'this one is all right.'
(8) Rel. ə́wə kə hat bážbu 'The one that came was good.'

5.22. Object

Those clauses with transitive verbs may contain a direct object of the verb. This object may be a noun, an adjective, a pronoun, or a particle (interrogative, numeral, or demonstrative), and names the goal of the action of the verb. The following illustrate each of these:

(1) Noun kərəkə́ bịkrə́ 'Buy the donkey!'
(2) Adj. konəkə́y xward 'He ate the old one.'
(3) Pronoun tom biní 'I saw you.' (For construction see 5.4)
(4) Interr. cit ʔəwé 'What do you want?'
(5) Numeral dwányan ʔəkré 'He'll buy both of them.'
(6) Demon. ə́wə názane 'He doesn't know that.'

5.23. Clause Word Order

In 5.21-2 subject and object are defined. The word order of these is regular and fits the following formula:

(S) (O) V

in which S = subject, O = object, V = verb, and ( ) means that the enclosed item may or may not occur in any given clause. Thus, the minimal clause consists of a verb with its implicit subject. If a subject or object is expressed, it fits into its respective position in this formula. Following are the various types of basic and limited clausal patterns.

5.231. Basic Clausal Types. The following types occur:

(1) V : hát 'He came.'
píżbum 'I was dirty'[1]
(2) S V : mị́niš yem 'I'll come too.' (-iš = 'also')
(3) O V : də́sṭịt mác ʔəkəm 'I kiss your hand.' (Formula of respect)

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[1] The predicate plus copula constitutes a type of verbal phrase; see 5.12 and pattern (4) in 5.121.

(4) S O V : xawənmáł kagəzəkə́ ˀəxwéne 'The host reads the letter.'

Interrogatives are not necessarily initial in the clause, but go into the (S), (O) positions according to their syntactic role, as

məlá cí ˀəka	'What is the Mullah doing?'	(ci = O)
to keyt	'Who are you?'	(ke = Predicate)

5.232. Limited Clausal Types. These patterns are limited in the corpus not necessarily in incidence but in the number of verbs that occur in them. Type (5) is limited to such verbs as /pišán da-:də-|d-/ 'to show', and is relatively rare in occurrence. Type (6) is limited to verbs of saying and is a special pattern for direct quotations. It is especially common in anecdotes and similar narrative.

(5) (S) O_1 O_2 V_2 : Two Accusatives. V_2 includes the verb pišán da-:də-|d- 'to show', as xoy wa mandú pišán da... 'He showed himself so tired...'

(6) (S) V_3 O_1 : Quotations. V_3 includes verbs of saying, as wʉt-:łe-|ł- 'to say', pịrsí-:pịrs- 'to ask', as məlá ˀəłé yə́k qác 'The Mullah says, "One leg".'

5.24. Order of Modifiers

5.23 presents the word order patterns of the most basic elements of the clause—subject, object, and verb. A clause may also contain modifiers, which fill certain positions in the clause. These positions are indicated by M's in the following formula, which is an expansion of the (S) (O) V formula of 5.23:

$$(S) \quad (M') \quad (O) \quad (M'') \quad V \quad (M''')$$

Modifiers may be either phrases or single words. Those filling position M' modify (describe) the following portion of the clause.[1] Expressions occupying positions M'' and M''' modify the verb; those in position M'' may be expressions of manner or the indirect object, and those in M''' are generally expressions of place.

Expressions of place occur in M' or M''', and expressions of time and manner usually occur in M'; expressions of time, however, may occur in M''', thereby receiving special emphasis. When expressions of place occur in M''' they more directly modify the verb.

The M positions are listed below with an accounting of what types of expressions usually occur in them and whatever special meanings they may have.

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[1] Modifiers of the subject are linked to it by izafa: see nominal phrases, 5.1.

(1) Position M': Expressions occurring here modify the entire remaining portion of the clause. They are generally expressions of time, place, manner, purpose, accompaniment, etc. When expressions of different varieties occur in M', time precedes place and place precedes manner, as

M'

time place manner

dwéne la mał-ı-émə bə dəst mə́reki kʉšt
yesterday at our house by hand he killed a snake

When two expressions of time occur in M', the more general precedes the more specific, as

bayaní zʉ́ həł sta 'He got up early in the morning'
(zu = 'early'; bayan = 'morning')
dwéne šəw 'yesterday evening'

With two expressions of place, the expressions are interchangeable.

(2) Position M": Expressions in this position usually modify the verb, as

kʉrdí báš ʔəzani 'You know Kurdish well.'

The indirect object regularly fills this position, as

ktebəkə́m bə řəšól frošt 'I sold the book to Rashol.'

(3) Position M‴: Expressions in this position more directly modify the verb. Thus, when an expression of place, which can fill either M' or M‴, occurs in this position, it modifies the verb rather than the clause as a whole. However, this is the regular position for expressions of place when the verb is a verb of motion, as

cʉ́ bo kwe 'Where did he go?'

A special meaning attaching to this position is that of emphasis: when an expression which would regularly go elsewhere occurs in this position more attention is focused on it, as

ktebəkə́m fróšt bə řəšól 'I sold the book to Rashol.'
wʉ́tịm pet 'I told you!'

5.25. Introductory Expressions

The clause as a whole is often introduced by a word or word group. These may be a clause connector (as /wə́/ 'and'; see 5.31); an interjection (as /xó/ 'aha!'); a noun in the vocative (as /xə́lkinə/ 'People!'); prepositional phrases (as /ləpaš nán xwardịn/ 'after eating'); or an expression of time (as /járek/ 'once').

These introductory expressions are symbolized by I in the following fully-expanded clause formula:

(I) (S) (M') (O) (M") V (M‴)

5.3. Combinations of Clauses

Sections 5.21-4 deal with the structure of the clause. An utterance may contain a sequence of clauses, in which one clause may modify another clause (see 5.321) or may modify a nominal phrase (see 5.322). These syntactic roles are signaled by clause connectors, which are discussed in 5.31. The structure of the clause always conforms to the formula of 5.25, regardless of its syntactic function.

5.31. Clause Connectors

Clause connectors are particles which indicate the relationship between a clause and the remainder of the utterance in which it appears. Some connectors may occur in utterances consisting either of a single clause or of more than one clause; others occur in utterances only of more than one clause. The former are called *independent connectors* (5.311) and the latter are called *subordinate connectors* (5.312). Certain connectors, whether independent or subordinate, regularly occur in clauses with the verb in the subjunctive; these are treated in 5.313.

5.311. *Independent Connectors*. Connectors which can occur either in a clause which itself constitutes the entire utterance or in a clause which is included in a larger utterance are called *independent connectors*. These include certain conjunctions and the interrogatives:

Conjunctions:

bá	'let, have'
báškịm	'perhaps'
bə́łam	'but'
bə́łku	'perhaps'
cúŋkə ~ cúŋki	'because'
dwaí	'afterwards'
ʔə́ginə	'otherwise'
tənánət	'well, then'
wə́	'and'
xozgə́	'would that'

Interrogatives:

áyə	(question: formal style)
bóci ~ bó	'why?'
cə́nd	'how much?'
cí	'what?'
cón	'how?'
kám	'which?'
ké	'who(m)?'
kə́y	'when?'
kwé ~ kwá	'where?'

For illustrative sentences, see under conjunctions (3.52) and interrogatives (3.53).

The conjunctions occur only in position (I) of the formula of 5.25; the interrogatives occur in (I), (S), or (O) depending on their syntactic role: see 5.231.

5.312. *Subordinate Connectors*. Connectors which occur only in clauses that are contained in larger utterances are *subordinate connectors*. These include certain conjunctions and the relative /kə́/, as

Conjunctions:		Relative:	
ə́gər	'if'	kə́	'who, which, etc.'
hətá	'until'		
kə́	'when; if; that'		
mə́gər	'unless, if not'		

For illustrative sentences, see conjunctions (3.52), and for relatives see 5.322.

Subordinate connectors occur in position (I) of the formula of 5.25.

5.313. Connectors and the Mood of the Verb. Certain connectors, whether independent or subordinate, regularly occur only in clauses with the verb in the subjunctive. These are:

bá
báškim
ə́gər
hətá
mə́gər
ŧə́ŋə
xozgə́

All other connectors occur for the most part with verbs in the indicative. When they do occur with verbs in the subjunctive, the verb indicates, as a rule, an "unreal" type of action (see 3.415) or that the antecedent of the relative is indefinite (see 5.322).

5.32. The Clause as a Syntactic Unit

In an utterance containing two or more clauses, any clause introduced by a subordinate connector, or by zero, for which a specific subordinate connector is substitutable without change in meaning, is a syntactic unit (see 5.0), and is called a bound clause. Thus, since the clause /bə tóyana bịmaḱyayə/ 'had they thrown it at you' in the utterance

> bə tóyana bịmaḱyayə ʔəbúyt bə cwarpé 'If they had thrown it at you, you would have become a quadruped'

would mean the same if /ə́gər/ were added, it is a bound clause. The other clause or clauses in an utterance are called free clauses. Bound clauses may fill the positions (I), (M'), or (M'') of free clauses, forming a sequence of clauses, or may modify a nominal phrase. Paragraph 5.321 describes the arrangement of bound clauses in larger utterances, and 5.322 describes the arrangement of bound clauses as modifiers in nominal phrases.

5.321. Sequences of Clauses. Bound clauses may serve as modifiers in free clauses, filling the positions of (I), (M'), or (M''), forming sequences of clauses. In the illustrations of these positions, square brackets [ ] indicate the bound clause that is filling the position in question. See 5.24 for the meanings of these modification positions.

(1) Bound clauses in the position (I):

(I)	(S)	V	(M‴)
[ə́gər nə́mdənawə]	xóm	ʔəzanịm	cí ʔəkəm
'If you don't return it to me	myself	I know	what I'll do

'If you don't return it to me, I know what I'll do.'

(2) Bound clauses in the position (M′):

(S)	(M′)	V
əmániš	[kə ə́mə ʔəbínịn]	ʔətịrsịn...
these also	when they see this	they fear

'For their part, when they see this they fear...'

(3) Bound clauses in position (M‴): Clauses in this position may be (a) subject of the free clause:

V	(M‴)
baštịrə	[kə bzánin]
it is better	that we know

'It is better that we know.'

(b) object of the free clause:

(S)	V	(M‴)
məlá	ʔəbíne	[bərmałəkə́y lə šwə́n-i-xóy nə́mawə]
Mullah	sees	his rug in its own place is no more

'The Mullah sees that his prayer rug is no longer in its place.'

See also the clause under (M‴) in (1) above.

(c) receiving special emphasis:

(I)	(O)	V	(M‴)
tuxwá məlá	cít	ʔəkịrd	[ə́gər bərmałəkə́tman nə́daytayəwə]
indeed, mullah,	what	would you have done	if we had not returned your rug to you

'What would you have done, if we had not returned your rug?'

5.322. The Clause as a Modifier of Nominal Phrases. A bound clause introduced by the relative /kə́/ 'who' may modify a nominal phrase, whether or not the nominal phrase is in a clause, and, if it is, regardless of its position in the clause. This construction (see (4) in 5.112) contains a head and a clause. The head may be a noun, a pronoun, or a demonstrative; if it is a noun or a pronoun, then it is regularly modified by the discontinuous particle /əw...Cə́|Vyə́/ 'that' or, less often, /əm...Cə́|Vyə́/ 'this'. This modifying clause is introduced by the connector /kə́/ 'who' and is linked to the head by izafa; however, either /kə́/ or izafa may be omitted without change in meaning. This construction is diagrammed as follows:

əw.head.ə́ -i- kə clause

əwnanə́-i-kə səgəkə́ xwárdi kə́nbu 'That bread that the dog ate was old.'

əmkəsə́ kə goraní ʔəłé bra-i-mịnə 'This person who is singing songs is my brother.'

ə́wə-i-xwárdịt řítəwə 'That which you ate you will pass [i.e., excrete],

ə́wə-i-kịrdịt dítəwə that which you did you will see again.' (Proverb)

The head of the phrase is the antecedent of the relative /kə́/. Further, /kə́/ itself may be the subject of the verb of the clause which it introduces. If it is the subject, and if its antecedent is indefinite (that is, if the head occurs with neither the definite article nor a demonstrative particle), then izafa does not occur, and the verb which agrees with /kə́/ is in the subjunctive mood. In this context, /ə́w/ 'he' and /ə́wə/ 'that' may be either definite or indefinite without difference in form. This difference in mood and antecedent is illustrated by the following pair of sentences:

ə́wə kə zirə́kə sər ʔəkəwé 'The one who is clever will succeed.'

ə́wə kə zirə́kbe sər ʔəkəwé 'Whoever is clever will succeed.'

On the other hand, if /kə́/ is not the subject of the verb of the clause which it introduces, then that verb occurs with an affix for pronominal goal (3.421) which is in person-number concord with the head modified by the clause, as

əmkəsə́ kə to ʔəynásit bra-i-mịnə 'This person whom you know is my brother' (Lit., 'this person whom you know him is my brother')

də́stek kə hakịm bíbřet xwéni níyə 'A hand cut off by a judge merits no punishment' (Lit., 'a hand which judge cut it has no blood')

5.4. Displaced Suffixes

Every verb receives suffixes indicating the person and number of its subject (see 3.411). Prepositions may receive pronominal suffixes indicating the person and number of their objects (see (3) in 3.0 for the suffixes and 5.11 for the construction). However, under certain conditions in a clause, these suffixes occur not with the verb or preposition but on some other word in the clause. The shifting of the person-number suffixes of verbs is described in 5.41, and that of person-number suffixes of prepositions in 5.42. In each case, there are two patterns of shifting, depending on whether the verb in the clause is based on the past stem or the present stem of the verb.

5.41. Displaced Subject Suffixes

When a clause contains words in addition to a verb and an explicit subject, the person-number suffixes of transitive verbs are shifted to a prior word in the clause, as, for example, in the following:

kʉ́štịm = 'I killed'; márek = 'a snake'

but márekịm kʉšt 'I killed a snake.'

That is, the suffix /-ịm/ of /kʉ́štịm/ has gone from /kʉ́štịm/ to /márek/; /márekịm/ does not occur as an entire utterance in itself. The subject suffix may be shifted to any word, except as follows: (1) among form classes, certain particles—interjections, conjunctions, and adverbs of time—never receive these suffixes; and (2) among syntactic elements, shifted suffixes are never affixed to explicit subjects, prepositional phrases, or prehead modifiers in any nominal phrase. This shifting occurs whether or not there is an explicit subject in the clause. If there is an explicit subject, the subject suffixes are in concord with it. In the following illustrations containing respectively an adjective, a pronoun, an adverb, a preverb, and an interrogative, all of which have received the displaced suffixes, these words and the respective displaced subject suffixes are indicated in parentheses:

cákịm kịrd	'I did well.'	(cák 'good' -ịm)
mịn tom biní[1]	'I saw you.'	(tó 'you' -m)
wáman kịrd	'we did it thus'	(wá 'thus' -man)
pyawəkán dəryan kịrd	'The men removed it.'	(dər 'out' -yan)
cóntan zaní	'How did you know?'	(cón 'how?' -tan)

The patterns vary for verbal suffixes and for prepositional suffixes, and also according to whether the verb in the clause is in the present tense or a past tense. This section presents the patterns for verbs, and section 5.42 presents those for prepositional suffixes.

(1) In tenses based on the past stem, the person-number suffixes of the verb are shifted to the first word in the clause, except that the items listed earlier in this section never receive these suffixes. In the following illustrations, the subject suffixes have been shifted to the words /cəqó/ 'knife', /helkə́/ 'egg', /ħə́z/ 'love', /řa/ 'away', and /máłịm/ 'my house'. The verbs in parentheses are the forms with the subject suffixes:

məlá cəqóy də́r hena	'The Mullah took out a knife.'	(henáy)
dú helkə́m xwárd	'I ate two eggs.'	(xwárdịm)
ħə́zịm lə to kịrdúə	'I'm in love with you.'	(lit., 'I have loved you') (kịrdúmə)

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[1] If the object of the verb is a pronoun, as in this instance, an alternate way of expressing goal is described in 3.421, Pronominal Goal. Both types of expression are common, with /tom biní/ showing more emphasis on the object than /binímit/ 'I saw you'.

barám ɍáy kịrd	'Baram ran away.'	(kị́rdi)
máłmyan werán kị́rd	'They ruined my house.'	(kị́rdyan)

(2) In the present tense, only three verbs are involved, all three having suppletive stems:

wʉt-:łe-|ł-	'to say'
wist-:əwé(t)	'to want'
hə́...bu:hə́...Cə|Vyə	'to have'

When the subject suffixes are shifted from the verb, the verb occurs in its present stem form, except that /wʉt-:łe-|ł-/ receives the aspect prefix /ʔə-/ as well; the person and number of the subject are indicated by pronominal suffixes on the first word of the clause, with the exceptions noted in the first paragraph of 5.41. The illustrations give first the verb with subject suffixes and then a sentence with displaced suffixes:

ʔəłéyt	'you (sg) say'	cit ʔəłé 'What are you saying!'
ʔətánəwe[1]	'you (pl) want'	kam kʉrsítan əwé 'Which chair do you want?'
hə́mə[1]	'I have'	trumpélịm hə́yə 'I have a car.'

The verbal phrase /xóš wist-|əwé(t)/ 'to like, love' shows the pronominal suffix on /xóš/ for subject and the verbal suffix on /əwé(t)/ for object, as

	xóšịm əwéyt	'I love you.'
cf.	tʊ́m xóš əwé	'I love you.'

5.42. Displaced Prepositional Suffixes

The pronominal suffixes of prepositions (expressing object of the preposition) are shifted in clauses containing transitive verbs or, in the present tense, containing the copula.

(1) In clauses with the verb in a past tense the subject suffixes of transitive verbs are shifted to a prior word in the clause, as described in 5.41. The pronominal suffix for the object of a preposition likewise is shifted, but in this case the suffix goes to the verb. Further, the suffixes occurring with the verb and representing the object of the preposition are not the pronominal suffixes themselves, but the corresponding verbal suffixes of 3.411.[2] The verbal suffix on the verb now refers to the object of the preposition, the pronominal suffix on the

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[1] These two verbs are conjugated irregularly in the present tense: see (2) Present Tense under 3.414.

[2] Thus, whenever a transitive verb occurs with the verbal suffixes the latter refer to the object of a preposition. The verbal suffixes seem to have an objective or passive character to them as opposed to the pronominal suffixes, which have an agential or active nature. Compare the use of verbal suffixes with intransitive verbs and in the

prior word in the clause refers to the subject of the verb, and the preposition itself has no suffix. Thus, in the utterance

cáki ləgəł kḭ́rdim 'He did well by me.' (< *cak ləgə́łim kḭ́rdi)

the suffix /-i/ '3rd sing.' of the verb /kḭ́rdi/ 'he did' has been shifted to /cák/ 'good' and the suffix /-im/ '1st sing.' of the preposition /ləgəłim/ 'with me' has moved to the verb. If the preposition is itself the first word of the clause, then it receive's the subject suffix of the verb, as

péyan baxším 'They presented [it] to me.'
(pe- 'to'; -yan 'they'; baxší- 'presented'; -m 'me')

The structure here is:

preposition - subject verb - object

Additional examples (including one with a passive verb) are:

ləbə́rim kḭ́rdin 'I put them on, I donned them'
(ləbə́r 'on'; -im 'I'; kird 'did'; -in 'them')

céstim bo le nayt 'I prepared the meal for you.'
(cest 'meal'; -im 'I'; bo 'for'; le na- 'prepared'; -yt 'you')

pet wʉtim 'you told me'
(pe- 'to'; -t 'you'; wʉt- 'told'; -im 'me')

cə́ŋyan jəzá le səŋrá? 'How much were they fined?'
(cə́ŋ ~ cə́nd 'how much?'; -yan 'they'; jəzá 'fine'; le 'from';
sə́ŋra ~ sə́ndra 'was taken')

However, if the verb precedes the preposition and its suffix (which is not normal word order but is an arrangement that receives emphasis; see (3) in 5.24), the above rule does not obtain and

wʉtim pet means 'I told you.'

(2) In clauses with the verb in the present tense, the preposition suffix is shifted to a prior word in the clause, provided the verb is a transitive or the copula. The suffix goes to the first word in the clause, with the exceptions noted in 5.41.

cám bo bénə 'Bring me some tea!'
(ca 'tea'; -m 'me'; bo 'for'; bénə for (D) bihénə 'bring')

ciróckekit bo ˀəłém 'I'll tell you a story.'
(cirókek 'a story'; -it 'you'; bo 'for'; ˀəłém 'I say')

éram pe xóšə 'I like it here.'
(érə 'here'; -m 'me'; pe 'to'; xóšə 'is nice')

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passive voice, while the pronominal suffixes are used to express subject in transitive verbs, pronominal goal, etc.

APPENDIX

TEXTS

Following are two texts, given in Kurdish script (on the left-hand pages) and in a phonemic transcription with interlinear morphemic translation (facing, on the right-hand pages). Finally, free translations are given of the stories. The reader will observe that, in the Kurdish script, words of Arabic origin are often retained in their original Arabic spelling.

یەکەم حکایەت

١ جاریکیان مەلا بەرمالەکەي خوي
هەلئەگریت وە ئەچي بو مزگەوت بو
نویژ کردن ، کە ئەگاتە مزگەوت لە
کاتیکا خەریکي دەست نویژ شتنە ئەبي
هەندي لە دوستو برادەرەکاني لە ناو
خویانا تدبیر ئەکەن وە بەرمالەکەي لي
ئەدزن وە ئەلین نابي کەسی ڕاستي بلي
تا بزانین مەلا چي ئەکا.

٢ مەلا کە لە دەست نویژ شتنە
ئەبیتەوە خەریکە ئەبي نویژ بکا
ئەبینیت بەرمالەکەي لە شوینی خوي
نەماوە ، گەلیە ئەگەري بي سوود ئەبي

yə́kəm ħəkayə́t
first story

1. jə́rekyan malá bərmałəkə́-i-xóy
time-a-of-them mullah prayer-rug-the-/i/-himself

hə́ł ˀəgret wə ˀəcé bo mịzgə́wt bo
he-takes-up and he goes to mosque to

nwéž kịrdịn 2. kə ˀəgátə mịzgə́wt lə
prayer to-do when he-arrives-at mosque in

káteka xərík-i-də́stnwežštịn ˀəbé
while busy-/i/-hand-prayer-to-wash he-is

hə́nde lə də́stubradərəkáni lənáw
a-few from friends-and-friends-his among

xóyana tədbír ˀəkə́n wə bərmałəkə́y lé
themselves arrangement they-make and rug-the-him from

ˀədịzin wə ˀəłén nábe kəs řastí bịłé
they-steal and they-say must-not anyone truth he-tell

ta bịzánịn məlá cí ˀəka
until we-know mullah what he-does

3. məlá kə lə dəstnwežštịn
mullah when from hand-prayer-to-wash

ˀəbétawə xərík ˀəbé nwéž bịká
he-is-back busy he-is prayer that-he-do

ˀəbínet bərmałəkə́y lə šwen-i-xóy
he-sees rug-the-his in place-/i/-itself

nə́mawə 4. gə́lek ˀəgəřé be súd ˀəbé
it-has-not-remained a-lot he-walks-around without avail it-is

ە ئەوانیش هیچ قسە ناکەن. ٦. ملا کە بوي
ساغ ئەبیتەوە لي یان شاردوتەوە بە
توورەییەوە ئەلي: خەلکینە بو خوا
بي تاوە ئەلیم بەرمالەکەم بدەنەوە و
ئەگەر نەم دەنەوە خوم ئەزانم چي ئەکەم
٧. ئەمانیش کە ئەمە ئەبینن ئەترسن لەوەي
کە ئەگەر نەیدەنەوە ملا شتیکي خراپ بکا
٨. دەرحال بەرمالکەي ئەدەنەوە دەست.
٩. دواي ئەوەي مەلا نویژەکەي ئەکا،
کابرا کاني دوستي سوینیکي مەلا ئەدەن
ئەلین: تو خوا مەلا ئەگەر بەرمالەکەتان
نەدایتایەوە چیت ئەکرد ؟
١٠. ئەمیش بە ساردییەکەوە وتي: ئەچوم
بو مالەوە هەندي خوریم هەبو ئەمدا بە
جولا بوي بکردمایە بە بەرمال.

5. əwániš híc qsə nákən 6. məlá kə boy
they-also no talk they-make mullah when to-him

sáğ ʔəbétəwə léyan šardótəwə bə
most-clear it-becomes from-they hid with

turəíyəwə ʔəlé xə́lkinə bo xwá
anger he-says People! for God

pétan ʔəłém bərmałəkə́m bịdónəwə wə
to-you(pl) I-say rug-the-my give-back and

ə́gər nə́mdanəwə xóm ʔəzanịm cí ʔəkəm
if not-to-me-you-give-back myself I-know what I-do

7. əmániš kə əmə́ ʔəbịnịn ʔətirsịn ləwə́-i-kə
they-also when this they-see they-fear from-that-/i/-that

ə́gər nə́ydənəwə məlá štek-i-xrap bịká
if not-it-they-give-back mullah thing-a-/i/-bad he-do

3. dəshál bərmałəkə́y ʔədə́nəwə dəst
immediately rug-the-his they-give-back hand

9. dwaí əwə́-i-məlá nwežəkə́y ʔəká
after that-/i/-mullah prayer-the-his he-does

kabrakán-i-dósti swenek-i-məlá ʔədə́n
men-the-/i/-friend-his oath-/i/-mullah they-give

ʔəłén tu xwá məlá əgər bərmałəkə́tman
they-say by God mullah if rug-the-your-we

nə́daytayəwə cít ʔəkịrd
had-not-given-back-to-you what-you were-doing

10. ə́miš bə sardíyekəwə wúti ʔəcúm
this-one-also with coldness-a he-said I-was-going

bo máłəwə hánde xurím hə́bu ʔəmdá bo
to house-to a-bit wool-I had I-was-giving-it to

jołá boy bịkírdmayə bə bərmáł
weaver for-he should-have-made-me into prayer-rug

دووهم حکایهت

١ جاریکیان یهکي له دوستهکاني بو تاوهلتي کردن مهلا بانگ ئهکاته مالي خویان ٢. مهلاش ئهو روژه ههر له بهیانیهوه خوي آمادة ئهکا وه جلي يالك لهبهر ئهکا ٣. وه نزیك نیوهرو ئهچیته مالي کابراي دوستي بو نان خواردن ٤. دواي چوونه ژورهوه و بهخیر هاتن خاوهن مال له سهرهوه داي ئهني وه به خوشي ئهووه چهند کهسیکي بانگ کردوه. ٥. لهپیش نان خواردنا خاوهن مال ئهیهوي گالتهیهك لهگهل مهلادا بکا. ٦. له ههیوان مراويیهك له سهر یهك پي وهستاوه ٧. به مهلا ئهلي: مهلا ئهو

duwəm ħəkayát
second story

1. járekyan	yákye	lə	dostəkáni	bo
one-time-of-them	one-a	from	friends-his	to

qawəltí	ʀịrdịn	məlá	báŋ	ʔəkatə	mál-
lunch	doing	mullah	invite	he-does-to	house /i/-

xóyan	2. məláš	əw	řožá	hər	lə
themselves	mullah-also	that	day	only	from

bəyaníəwə	xov	amadá	ʔəka	wə	jịl-i-
morning-from	himself	ready	makes	and	clothes-/i/-

pák	ləbár	ʔəka	3. wə	nịzik	niwəřó
clean	on	he-does	and	near	noon

ʔəcétə	mál-i-kabrá-i-dósti	bo	nán	xwardịn
he-goes-to	house-/i/-fellow-/i/-friend-his	for	bread	eating

4. dway	cúnə	žúrəwəw	bə	xer	hatín
after	going-to	inside-to-and	to	well	coming

xawənmáł	lə	sárəwə	dáy	ʔəne	wə
host	on	head	down-him	places	and

bə	xoší-i-áwəwə	cənd	káseki	báŋ
to	happiness-of-that-by	a-few	people-a-he	invitation

kịrduə	5. ləpéš	nan	xwardịna	xawənmáł
has-done	before	bread	eating-at	host

ʔəyəwé	gałtáyek	ləgəł	məláda	bịka
he-wants	joke-a	with	mullah-at	that-he-do

6. lə	həywán	mrawíyək	ləsər	yək
in	corridor(at patio)	duck-a	on	one

pe	wástawə	7. bə	məlá	ʔəłé	mála	əw
leg	he-has-stood	to	mullah	he-says	mullah	that

مراوي يه‌ چه‌ن تاجي هه‌يه ؟ ٨- ملا ئه‌لي
يه‌ك تاج ٩- كابرا ئه‌لي پياوي چاك به
مه‌لا چون مراوي يه‌ك تاجي ئه‌بي ؟ ١٠-
مه‌لا هه‌ر له‌ سه‌ر قسه‌ي خوي دوام ئه‌كا.
١١- دوايي خاوه‌ن مال ده‌نكه‌ زيخيكي بچووكي
له‌ نزيك خويه‌وه هه‌لگرت وه گرتيه
مراوي يه‌كه‌. ١٢- مراوي يه‌كه‌ش له‌ ترسانا
تاجه‌كه‌ي تري دانا وه راي كرد ،
١٣- خاوه‌ن مال وتي ؛ ها مه‌لا ئه‌وه نيه
دوو تاجي هه‌يه ؟ ١٤- مه‌لا تێكيڕي لي كرده‌وه
وتي ئه‌و به‌رده‌ي تو به‌و مراوي يه
به‌سزمانه‌تا مالي به‌ تويانا بماليبايه
ئه‌بويت به‌ چوار پي ما ؟

mrawiyə́ cən qáci hə́yə 8. malá ʔəłé
duck how-many legs-his there-are mullah he-says

yák qac 9. kabrá ʔəłé pyaw-i-cákba
one leg fellow he-says man-/i/-good-be

málə cón mrawí yák qacı ʔəbe
mullah how duck one leg-his it-will-be

10. malá hər ləsə́r qsə-i-xoy dəwám ʔəka
mullah only on word-/i/-himself stay he-does

11. dwaí xawənmáł daŋkəzíxək-i-pcúki
later host pebble-/i/-gravel-/i/-small-he

lə nịzık xóyawə háł gịrt wə gịrtíə
from near himself-from up took and threw-to

mrawiyəkə́ 12. mrawiyəkə́š lə tʃrsana
duck-the duck-the-also from fear-at

qacəkə-i-tʃṛi dá na wə řáy kịrd
leg-the-/i/-other-he down put and away-he did

13. xawənmał wáti há məla əwə níyə
host he-said aha mullah that is-not

dú qaci hə́yə 14. malá təfkíri lé kịrdəwə
two legs-his there-are mullah thinking-he from did-again

wáti əw bərdə́-i-to bəw mrawíyə
he-said that rock-which-you at-that duck

bəsịzmanə́ta maĺí bə tóyana bịmaŕyayə
poor threw to you-they-at had thrown

ʔəbúyt bə cwarpé
you-would-become to quadruped

FREE TRANSLATION

FIRST STORY

On one occasion the Mullah takes his own prayer rug and goes to the mosque to pray. When he arrives at the mosque and while he is busy performing his prayer ablutions, a few of his friends arrange among themselves and steal his rug and say, "No one must tell the truth until we find out what the Mullah will do."

When the mullah gets back from his ablutions and is about to pray, he sees that his prayer rug is no longer in its place. He searches everywhere but in vain. His friends, for their part, say nothing. When it becomes crystal clear to the Mullah that they have hidden it from him, he says angrily, "People! Indeed, I say to you, give me back my prayer rug. If you don't, I know what I'll do about it!" The others, when they hear this, fear that the Mullah might do something bad if they don't return the rug; they return it immediately. After the Mullah had finished praying the men ask him to swear and say, "By God, Mullah, if we hadn't given you back your rug, what would you have done?"

Said the Mullah coldly, "I would have gone home where I have a bit of wool; I would have given it to a weaver so that he might make it into a rug for me."

FREE TRANSLATION

SECOND STORY

Once one of his friends invites the Mullah to lunch. The Mullah, for his part, gets ready early in the morning that day and puts on clean clothes, and near noon goes to the house of his friend to eat. After going inside and the welcoming was done, the host put him at the head; he had invited a few people because of the occasion. Before eating, the host wants to have a joke with the Mullah. In the corridor a duck is standing on one leg. He says to the Mullah, "Mullah, how many legs does that duck have?" The Mullah answers, "One leg." The man says, "Come now, Mullah, how can a duck have one leg?" But the Mullah maintained his stand. Later the host picked up a small pebble from nearby and threw it at the duck. The duck put down its other leg from fear, and ran away.

The host said "I say, Mullah, doesn't the duck have two legs now?" The Mullah thought it over and said, "If they had thrown at you the rock that you had thrown at that poor duck, you'd have become a quadruped (donkey)."

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Proper names and titles in non-Roman scripts are transliterated according to generally recognized conventions. The phonemic transcription of Kurdish used in the main body of the text has not been employed here. Translations and words not appearing on the title pages of the works themselves are enclosed in square brackets.

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ARTICLES

Abbreviations used in this section:

AW Wien	K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
AN SSSR	Akademija Nauk SSSR
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
JA	Journal asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
REI	Revue des études islamiques
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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GLOSSARY

The order of alphabetical arrangement in the Glossary that follows is given below:

ʔ
a
b
c
d
e
ə
f
g
ǥ
h
ħ
i
ɨ
ɨ̣
j
k
l
ł
m
n
ŋ
o
p
q
r
ɍ
s
ş
š
t
u
ʉ
v
w
x
y
z
ž
ƛ

The symbol / in the glossary is equivalent to the vertical bar (|) as used in the main body of the text (cf. paragraph 3.0, fn. 1).

ʔ

ʔawsán (ʔawse-) to swell up
ʔawsáw swollen, pregnant
ʔəŋgawtị́n (ʔəŋgew-) to shoot

a

á [interj.] yes (informal style)
áferin, áferim [interj.] bravo!
afrə́t woman
agá care, attention
agadánd alertness
agị́r fire
agịrdán fireplace
ağá agha
amadə́ [adj.] ready
 amadə́ kịrdị́n to prepare
asmán sky
asudəí comfort
ášt peace
áw water
azaí freedom
áy [interj.] ah!
áyə (interrog. part., formal style)

b

bá [interj.] yes (informal style)
bá [conj.] let, have (in indirect
   commands)
bá [prep.] against, in opposition
   to
báğ (plur. bağát) garden
bán plateau
banzín gasoline
báŋ call, invitation
 báŋ kịrdị́n to invite

bapír grandfather
barám (man's name)
báš [adj.] good
báškịm [conj.] perhaps
báwk father
baxšín (baxš-) to present, give
báy [prep.] for the price of
bayaní morning
bé, bəbé [prep.] without
bekarə́ lazy person
bə́/pé [prep.] to, in, with
bə́...(əwə) [prep.] with (instrument)
bə́d [adj.] bad
bə́fr snow
bəfrawí [adj.] snow-covered
bəğá Baghdad
bə́le [interj.] yes (formal style)
bə́łam [conj.] but
bə́ɫku [conj.] perhaps
bə́nd cord
bəndəxwén, bənəxwén belt-cord
bə́r front
bə́rd rock, stone
bərmáł prayer-rug
bərqiyə́ telegram
bərú oak tree
bə́rx lamb
bə́s [adj.] enough, sufficient
bəsə́r [prep.] by (in oaths)
bəsịzmán [adj.] poor
bəxšín (bəxš-) to forgive
binín, ditị́n (past bini-, di(t)-;
   pres. bin-) to see
bír mind
bíst [numeral] twenty

bistị́n (byə-/by-; passive bistr-) to hear
bístu penjə́m [numeral] twenty-fifth
bịlyún [numeral] billion
bị́n bottom
bịrdị́n (bə-/b-; passive br-) to carry
bịrị́nj rice
bịzị́n goat
bịznəkewí mountain goat
bó [prep.] to, for
bóci, bó [interrog.] why?
boinbáx necktie
boyáǥ shoe polish, shine
boyaǥcí boot black
brá brother
bradə́r friend
brán (bre-) to stop (trans.)
brayetí brotherhood
brazá brother's son or daughter
brín (br-) to wound
břín (bř-) to cut
búk bridegroom
bukušušə́ toy
bún (past -bu-; pres. Cịm/Vm, hə́-, b-) to be
burdị́n (bur-) to forgive

c

cák [adj.] good
cakí goodness
candị́n (cen-) to sow
cáw eye
cawịlkə́ eyeglasses
cáy, cá tea
cayxanə́ tea shop
cenřáw [adj.] sown
cést meal, food
 cést lé nan to prepare a meal
cetə́ bandit
cəkmə́ boots
cəkməbór soldier
cə́nd, cə́ŋ [interrog.] how much? how many?
cə́nd, cə́ŋ [adv.] a few
cə́p left hand
cəpuřást left hand and right hand
cəqó knife
cí [interrog.] what?
cirók story
ciryó [interj.] cheerio! (a toast)
cị́l [numeral] forty
cịrá light (noun)
cón [interrog.] how?
cún (c-; imperative co-) to go
 lá cun to go away
 ték cun to disagree
cúŋkə, cúŋki [conj.] because
cwár [numeral] four
cwardə́ [numeral] fourteen
cwarpé quadruped, donkey

d

dá [preverb] down
dád justice
dadgá court
dadmə́nd [adj.] just
dán tooth
dán grain, feed
dán (də-/d-; passive dr-) to give
 lé dan to hit, to play (musical instrument)
 ték wə́r dán to shake (water)
danə́ grain
dár tree
darịstán forest
dáx sorrow
dáyk mother
daykí motherhood
dé (plur. dehát) village
də́ [numeral] ten
də́, də́y (asseverative particle occurring with verbs)
dám period of time, a while
dəmdám [adv.] from time to time
də́ŋ voice
dəŋkəzíx piece of gravel
də́r [preverb] out
dərə́j degree

də́rəwə outside
dərgá door
dərħál [adv.] immediately
dərpé undershorts
dərzí needle
də́st hand
dəstnwežštị́n prayer ablutions
dəwám kịrdịn to persist
dị́ł heart
dịłgír [adj.] sad, grieved
dịłškáw [adj.] heartbroken
dịłtə́ŋ [adj.] sad
dịłxóš [adj.] happy
dịzín (dịz-) to steal
dó (fermented yoghurt drink)
dóst friend
dostubradə́r friends
drenřáw [adj.] torn
dréž [adj.] long, tall
drežaí length
drə́ŋ [adj.] late
dró lie, falsehood
drún (dru-/dru-) to sew
dřandịn (dřen-) to tear
dú [numeral] two
duló a two, deuce (cards)
dúr [adj.] far, distant
durbiní farsightedness
dúsbəy [adv.] day after tomorrow
duwə́m [numeral] second
duzmán a deceitful person
dwaí [adv.] later, afterwards
dwanə́ twin
dwanzə́ [numeral] twelve
dwáy [prep.] after
dwéne [adv.] yesterday
dyárə obviously, of course (is visible)

e

érə [adv.] here
está [adv.] now
éš ache
ewaré [adv.] evening

ə

əfəndí, əfəní gentleman
ə́gər [conj.] if
ə́ginə [conj.] otherwise
əmán [interj.] alas, woe
əm...Cə́/Vyə́ [demon.] this
ə́mə [demon.] this
ə́re [interj.] yes (emphatic)
ərewə́llə [interj.] yes indeed!
ə́sp horse
əsterə́ star
ə́w [pron.] he, him; she, her; it
əw...Cə́/Vyə́ [demon.] that
əwán [pron.] they, them
əwanə́ [pron.] they (definite antecedent)
əwé [adv.] there
ə́wə [demon.] that
əwwál [numeral] first
ə́y [interj.] yes (informal style)
əždihə́ (a fabulous animal)

f

fanilə́ undershirt
fenị́k [adj.] cool
fér:
fér bún to learn
fér kịrdị́n to teach
fənján cup
fəqyanə́ Kurdish long-sleeved shirt
fərmún (fərmu-) to do the honor of (polite)
fə́rq difference
fə́rš rug
fəršřaxə́r one who spreads carpets
flán So and So
froštị́n (froš-) to sell
frošyár customer

g

gá (plur. gagál) bull, ox
gałtə́ joke

gerá́nnəwə (past gera-...əwə; present gere-...əwə) to tell, relate
gə́lek [adv.] a great deal of
gənị́m wheat
gə́nj [adj.] young
gənməsámi corn
gə́rm [adj.] hot
gərmá heat
gəřán (gəře-) to walk
gəřók one who loves to walk
gəwrə́ [adj.] big, large
gəyandị́n (gəyen-) to cause to arrive
gəyštị́n (gə-/g-) to arrive
gə́z bite
gə́z (unit of measure for cloth)
gəzín (gəz-) to bite
gián soul
gianləbə́r animal, living thing (except plants)
girfán pocket
givə́ (onomatopoeia for sound of bullets)
givəgív (onomatopoeia for sound of bullets)
gizə́ (onomatopoeia for sound of buzzing of bullet)
 gizə́ kịrdị́n to complain
gizəgíz complaining, whining
gị́ł soil
gịrtị́n (gr-; passive stem gir-) to take, grasp, throw
 hə́ł gịrtị́n to pick up
gláw [adj.] unclean (religious usage)
gobkə́ (a kind of flower)
gól lake
góm lake
goraní song
góšt meat
govár magazine
grə́w bet, wager
grín (gr-) to cry
grinók cry-baby
gřán [adj.] expensive
gunáh crime
gʉ́l leprosy
gʉ́ł rose
gʉłáw rose water
gwé ear
gwéž nuts

ǥ

ǥaribí foreign land
ǥələ́t mistake
ǥələtyarí a bad move or play (in games)

h

há [interj.] aha!
hafíz Protector
haftə́ week
hakị́m judge
hatị́n (ye-/y-; subjunctive e-; imperative wə́r-) to come
hatucó coming and going, loitering
hawištị́n (hawež-) to throw
helkə́ egg
henán (hen-) to bring
 də́r henán to take out, remove
héro (girl's name)
hestị́n (hel-) to permit
héšta [adv.] still, yet
hə́bu [v.] there was, were
hə́bun (past hə́...bu; present hə́ ...Cə/Vyə/yeti; imperative hə́...be) to have
hə́ł [preverb] up
həłó eagle
həmanə́ leather
həmú, ħəmú [adv.] each, every, all, any
hə́ndek [adv.] a few, a little
hənjír figs
həŋwín honey
hə́r [adv.] only
hərmé pear
hərzán [adj.] cheap

hə́št [numeral] eight
həštá [numeral] eighty
hətá, tá, hətáku [conj.] until
[prep.] up to, as far as
hətíw orphan
hətiwbáz homosexual
hə́yə [v.] there is, are
həywán corridor (bordering courtyard of house)
həzár [numeral] thousand
həždə́ [numeral] eighteen
híc [adv.] no, not any
honřáwə poem
hoqqá (a measure of weight)
hušyár [adj.] sober

ħ

ħəftá [numeral] seventy
ħəvdə́, ħəvvə́ [numeral] seventeen
ħə́wt [numeral] seven
ħəywán animal
ħə́z:
ħə́z lə kịrdị́n to like, love

i

íš work, deed

ɨ

ɨħtirám respect
ɨ́mro [adv.] today
ɨ́msał [adv.] this year
ɨ́mšəw [adv.] tonight
ɨmtiħán examination
ɨ́nja [adv.] then, in that case
ɨnsáf justice, equality
ɨnsán man, person
ɨšbíliyə Lisbon

j

jám bowl
jarán formerly
járek once
jasús spy
jə́ŋ noise
jəzá fine (noun)
jəzá le səndị́n to take a fine from, to fine
jə́žn holiday
jị́ł clothes
jịłfá slang
jnábtan you (polite)
jó barley
jołá weaver
jún (ju-/jw-) to chew
jút a pair (rugs, dice)
jwán [adj.] beautiful
jwaní beauty

k

kabrá man, fellow
kaǥə́z letter
kaǥəznús letter-writer
káka (title of respect used in addressing elder brother)
kałə́k melon
kałəkfróš melon vendor
kám [interrog.] which?
kaní spring (water)
kánt straight (in poker)
kár work
kár ewe
kargá workshop
karžolə́ small ewe
kát while, time
lə káteka while, during
ké [interrog.] who? whom?
kə́ [conj.] when, if, that
kə́ [relative] who, which
kə́łk use
kəmřə́ŋ [adj.] light (in color)
kəndị́n (kənd-) to take off
kənín:
pé kənin (kən-) to laugh
kə́r donkey
kərfróš donkey seller
kərfroštị́n donkey selling
kə́ř [adj.] deaf
kə́s person, anybody

kəští ship
kəštyəwán sailor
kəwtị́n (kəw-) to fall
kə́y [interrog.] when?
kị́c girl, daughter
kịcanə́ [adj.] girlish
kị́lk tail
kịrdgár Creator
kịrdị́n (kə-/k-; passive kr-)
to do, make
də́r kịrdị́n to take out, remove
ləbə́r kịrdị́n to put on, don
řá kịrdị́n to run away
kịrị́m worm
kịrmók [adj.] wormy, worm-eaten
kị́z [adj.] dull, gloomy
kịzolə́ [adj.] somewhat dull, gloomy
kłáw shoe
kławrfén shoe thief
kółk target
kón [adj.] old
kór party (of people)
krín (kr-) to buy
křín (kř-; passive kịř-) to rub
ktéb book
kúr hunchback
kužánnəwə (kužen-...əwə) to turn off, extinguish
kʉ́lk scratch
kʉllə́ mosquito net
kʉ́łk hen ready to lay eggs
kʉ́rd Kurd
kʉrdí Kurdish
kʉrdəwarí the Kurdish people
kʉrdịstán Kurdistan
kʉrsí chair
kʉ́rt [adj.] short
kʉ́ř boy, son
kʉřəzá grandson
kʉštị́n (kuž-) to kill
kwé, kwá [interrog.] where?
kwér [adj.] blind
kwerai blindness

l

lá side
ladé countryside
lagír supporter, follower, adherent
láq leg
lé [preverb] from
léw lip
lə́/lé (-da) [prep.] in, at
lə́/lé (-əwə) from
ləbə́r [prep.] because of, on
ləbị́n [prep.] beneath
ləgə́ł (-da) [prep.] with
ləkị́n...əwə [prep.] beside
lənáw (-da) [prep.] inside of
ləpáš (-da) [prep.] after
ləpéš (-da) [prep.] before
ləsə́r [prep.] on
ləžér [prep.] under
lʉbnán Lebanon
lịfkə́ wash-rag

m

mác kiss
mác k. to kiss
máł house
małín (mał-) to throw, cast
małockə́ little house
mám uncle
mán (me-) to remain
mandú, maŋú [adj.] tired
már snake
marmasí eel
masí fish
mást yoghurt
mérd man, husband
méš fly
mešulə́ mosquito
məʕáš salary
məʕašxór employee
məʕnə́ meaning
mə́gər [conj.] unless, if not
məlá mullah
mələ́ swimming

məmnún [adj.] much obliged, thank you
mə́rg pasture
mə́rḥəbə [interj.] hello
məwqnatís magnetism
miwán guest
míz urine
mịzildán bladder
mịlwankə́ necklace
mịlyún [numeral] million
mị́n [pron.] I, me
mịnáɫ, mịndáɫ child
mịnaɫí childhood
mịnaɫokə́ (dear) little child
mịrdị́n (mr-) to die
mịrwarí pearl
mịzgə́wt mosque
mór [adj.] purple
morə́ dice
mrawí duck
mrəbbə́ jam
muɛárɨf education
mudír director
mʉhtə́məl [adj.] possible
mʉmkín [adj.] possible

n

nábe [v.] must not
náɛɫ leather slippers
nadị́r (man's name)
nán bread
nán (ne-) to put, place
 dá nan to put down
nankị́r baker
nardị́n (ner-) to send
nárek [adj.] disarranged, disorderly, dishonest
nasín (nas-) to know, be acquainted with
náw name
náw inside, interior
náxoš [adj.] unpleasant
nə́? [interj.] no
nəsrín (girl's name)
nə́tiž [adj.] dull
nəwə́d [numeral] ninety
nə́xer [interj.] no (emphatic)
nə́xoš [adj.] ill
nə́xtek a little bit
niáz intention
niwəřó noon
niwəřoxə́w noon nap
nɨsbə́t comparison
nɨštị́n, ništị́n (niš-) to sit
 dá nɨštị́n to sit down
nịzík [adj.] near
nị́zm [adj.] low
nó [numeral] nine
nóš [interj.] here's to you (a toast)
nozdə́ [numeral] nineteen
nusín (nus-) to write
nʉktəbáz comedian, joker
nʉqʉ́rc a pinch
nʉstị́n, nustị́n (nu-/nw-) to sleep
nwandị́n (nwen-) to put to sleep
nwé [adj.] new
nwéž kịrdịn to pray

o

ogị́r:
 ogị́rbe Where are you going? (polite style)
 ogị́r kịrdín to go (polite)
ostá master
oxə́y [interj.] ah! (delight)

p

pák [adj.] clean
 pák kịrdị́n to clean, peel
 pák kị́rdnəwə to clean, wash
paɫawtị́n (paɫew-) to filter
panzə́ [numeral] fifteen
pár [adv.] last year
parastị́n (parez-) to protect
páš [prep.] after
pašařóž [adv.] in the future
paytə́xt capital city
pcúk, bịcúk [adj.] little, small
pé foot

pé [preverb] to
péc curve
pecpéc zigzag
pék [preverb] together
pékawə [adv.] together
pénj [numeral] five
perár [adv.] year before last
péš [prep.] before
péwə [preverb] with
pələ́ haste
pələpə́l great haste
pə́nd trick, pun
pə́nd pe dán to play a trick on
pənjá [numeral] fifty
pərdəwkullə́ mosquito net
pəstə́ chorus
pəstị́n (pəst-) to press
pír [adj.] old
piretí oldness
pirəmérd old man
pirəžị́n old woman
pirí oldness
pís [adj.] dirty
pišán dan to show
pịrsín (pịrs-) to ask
pị́ř [adj.] full
pị́ř kịrdị́n to fill up
płá rung (of ladder)
propəlantə́ propaganda
pšilə́ cat
púl money
pulbáz miser
purzá aunt's son or daughter
pyáw man
pyawetí humanity

q

qác leg
qadị́r (man's name)
qawə́ coffee
qawəí [adj.] brown
qawəltí lunch
qazánj profit
qazəwán goose tender
qəłəbáləg crowd
qəłə́m pen, pencil
qəłəmdán pencil box
qəpqə́p (onomatopoeia for sound of wooden shoes)
qəryolə́ cot
qərzdár debtor
qəy náka it doesn't matter
qəycí scissors
qəzá misfortune
qopcə́ button
qorawí [adj.] muddy, mud-covered
qúl [adj.] deep
quwə́t strength
qulařə́š Negro
qurbán you (polite)
qurɛán Koran
qúrs [adj.] difficult
qsə́ speech
qsə́ kịrdị́n to speak
qsəxóš [adj.] witty

r

řá [preverb] away
řamazán Ramadan
řást [n.] right hand
[adj.] right, correct
řastí truth
řastị́r [adj.] more correct
řastucə́wt [adj.] dishonest
řék [adj.] straight
řekupék [adj.] in order, in good shape
řestị́n (řes-) to spin
řə́hm mercy
řə́ŋ [adj.] color
řə́ŋə [conj.] maybe
řə́sm picture
řəsmgị́r photographer
řə́š [adj.] black
řəšəbá resheba, dust storm
řəšól (man's name)
řịštị́n (řež-) to sprinkle
řjá kịrdị́n to beg, entreat
řó [preverb] down

řoyštịn ~ řoyn (řo-/řw-) to go
řóž sun,day
řožanə́ [adj.] daily
řožawá west
řožawaí [adj.] western
řožhəlát sunrise, east
řwán (řwe-) to grow
řwandịn (řwen-) to plant

s

ság [adj.] clear, certain
sáł year
sán (s-) to wake up
sárd [adj.] cold
sardá cold (noun)
sardí coldness
sardugə́rm cold and hot
sbə́y [adv.] tomorrow
sé [numeral] three
seanzə́ [numeral] thirteen
sér [adj.] strange
séw apple
səbə́b reason, cause
səbhə́yne [adv.] tomorrow
səʕát hour, watch, clock, o'clock
sə́g dog
səgbáz dog fancier
səgšór dog washer
səhól ice
səmmún French bread
səndịn (sənd-) to take, receive
sə́qí ceiling
sə́r head
sə́r kəwtịn to succeed
sərbán roof
sərbáz soldier
sə́rf spending
sərjó (place name)
sərspí [adj.] hoary
səwá haggling
səwá [illegible]. to haggle
səwbə́ (a kind of flower)
sə́wz [adj.] green
səwzaí green (noun)
səwzə́ (plur. səwzəwát) green (noun)
sfúr without veil
sí [numeral] thirty
sinemá the movies
sinə́ tray
sifrə́ zero
siftáh first sale of day
sịg stomach
skút silence
snóq box
snogəřə́š black box
spardịn (sper-):
řá spardịn to order, command
spí [adj.] white
stan (st-):
hə́ł stan to get up, arise
súd avail
súr [adj.] red
surbaw [adj.] reddish
swár horseman
swarə́ cavalryman
swén oath

ṣ

ṣə́d [numeral] hundred

š

šá king
šaí ceremony
šanzə́ [numeral] sixteen
šár city
šatrịnj chess
šáx mountain
šaxəwán mountaineer
šazadə́ prince, princess
šažịn queen
šéw evening meal
šəhwaní hermaphrodite
šəkịr sugar
šəkịrdán sugar bowl
šəlín (šəl-) to be lame
šəmšəməkwə́r bat (animal)
šə́rm bashfulness

šərmị́n [adj.] bashful
šə́rt condition, proviso
šə́st [numeral] six
šə́ṣt [numeral] sixty
šə́w night
šə́wq light (noun)
šəžló a six (cards)
šín [adj.] blue
šír milk
šír [adj.] ragged
širə́ rag
širəxór infant
širín [adj.] sweet
širutír swords and arrows
šị́t thing
škán (ške-) to break
škanəwə (ške-...əwə) to be broken
škʉr thanks (to God)
šušə́ glass
šuštị́n (šo-/šw-) to wash
šwén place

t

táj crown
tajbáxš (proper name)
té [preverb] into
ték [preverb] apart, dis-
tér [adj.] full
təʕtíl vacation
tədbír kịrdị́n to arrange
tənánət [conj.] well, then
tə́rs dung
təsbíħ ~ təzbíħ prayer beads
təšəkkúr kịrdịn to thank
təšpí wooden dish
təšpilə́ small wooden dish
təšpilokə́ very small wooden dish
təxtə́ board (wood)
təxwá bobby pin
tfə́ŋ rifle
tirbịržán beautiful person
tíž [adj.] sharp
tị́rs fear
tịrsán (tịrs-) to fear
tịrsandị́n (tịrsen-) to frighten
tịrsnók coward
tị́rš [adj.] sour
tká kịrdị́n to thank
tó [pron.] you
topín (top-) to die (animal)
tór fishing net
tořbə́ musette bag
trozí wild or "snake" cucumber
ṭrumpél automobile
tṙé grapes
túk hair
tukị́n [adj.] hirsute
tuləsə́g puppy
túr radish
turəyé anger
twanín (twan-) to be able, can
twé slice
txwá, tuxwá [interj.] indeed?! (surprise)

u

utél hotel

ʉ

ʉstáz professor

v

vịŋəvị́ŋ (onomatopoeia for sound of buzzing of bees)
vị́ř (onomatopoeia for sound of machines)
vrəvị́ř (onomatopoeia for sound of machines)

w

wá [adv.] thus, so
werán ruin, ruination
werán kịrdịn to ruin
werán bun to be ruined
wə́, Cu/Vw [conj.] and
wə́k [conj.] as
wóku [prep.] like
wəlám:
wəlám dánəwə to think
wə́r [preverb] from

wəstán (wəst-) to stand
 řá wəstán to stop (intrans.)
wistịn (-əwe(t); passive wistr-) to want
wutú iron (instrument)
wutucí laundryman
wutịn (ɫe-/ɫ-; passive wutr-) to say
wútnəwə (ɫe-...əwə) to teach

x

xaɫúz charcoal
xaɫužá cousin
xaɫužịn aunt
xanə́, xanú house
xásətən [adv.] especially
xawənmáɫ host
xawlí towel
xə́lk, xə́lq people
xərík [adj.] busy (plus subjunctive verb: about to)
xə́w dream
xíɫ a spinning
xiɫxiɫokə́ a top .
xịnkán (xịnke-) to drown, choke
xịstịn (xə-/x-) to pull
xịzịm relative, relation
xịzmayətí relationship
xó self
xó [interj.] I say! (accosting)
xoləméš ash
xonəxór one who does not eat
xóš [adj.] pleasant, nice, delicious
xóšk sister
xoškəgəwrə́ elder sister
xóžgə [conj.] would that
xráp [adj.] bad
xurí wool
xuɫxuɫokə́ top (which spins)
xwá God
xwardịn (xo-/xw-; passive xur-) to eat
xwardú [adj.] having eaten
xwardubịrd eating and plucking
xwarú south
xwé salt
xwedán salt shaker
xwín blood
xwendịn (xwen-) to read

y

yanzə́, yanzdə́ [numeral] eleven
yaprə́x stuffed cabbage rolls
yarí play, move (in games)
yešán (yeše-) to ache, pain
yə́k [numeral] one
yəkə́m [numeral] first
yəkəmín [numeral] first
yəkgịrtú [adj.] united
yəksə́r [adv.] straight, immediately
yəktịr [numeral] one more
yə́lə [interj.] hurry up

z

zaʕíf [adj.] weak
zanín (zan-) to know
zewí ground, earth
zəhmə́t trouble, bother
zín saddle
zirbrá step-brother
zirə́k [adj.] clever, smart
zirxóšk step-sister
zịstán winter
zmán tongue, language
zór [adv.] very, much, many
zorná flute
zřé (onomatopoeia for tinkling sound)
zú early

ž

žán pain
žanəsə́r headache
žapón Japan
žér under part
žerxán basement
žián (ži-) to live
žín life

žį́n	woman, wife
žmardịn (žmer-)	to count
žmarə́	numeral, number
žúrəwə	inside

ɛ

ɛantikə́y [adj.]	funny
ɛaqłə́	intelligence
ɛáyb	shame
ɛə́bə	aba (woman's black cloak)
ɛə́mr	age (years)
ɛərəqxór	heavy drinker
ɛə́rz, ʔərz	ground, floor
ɛəttár	notions shop
ɛəttarcí	notions shopkeeper
ɛísa	Jesus
ɛisaí	Christian